

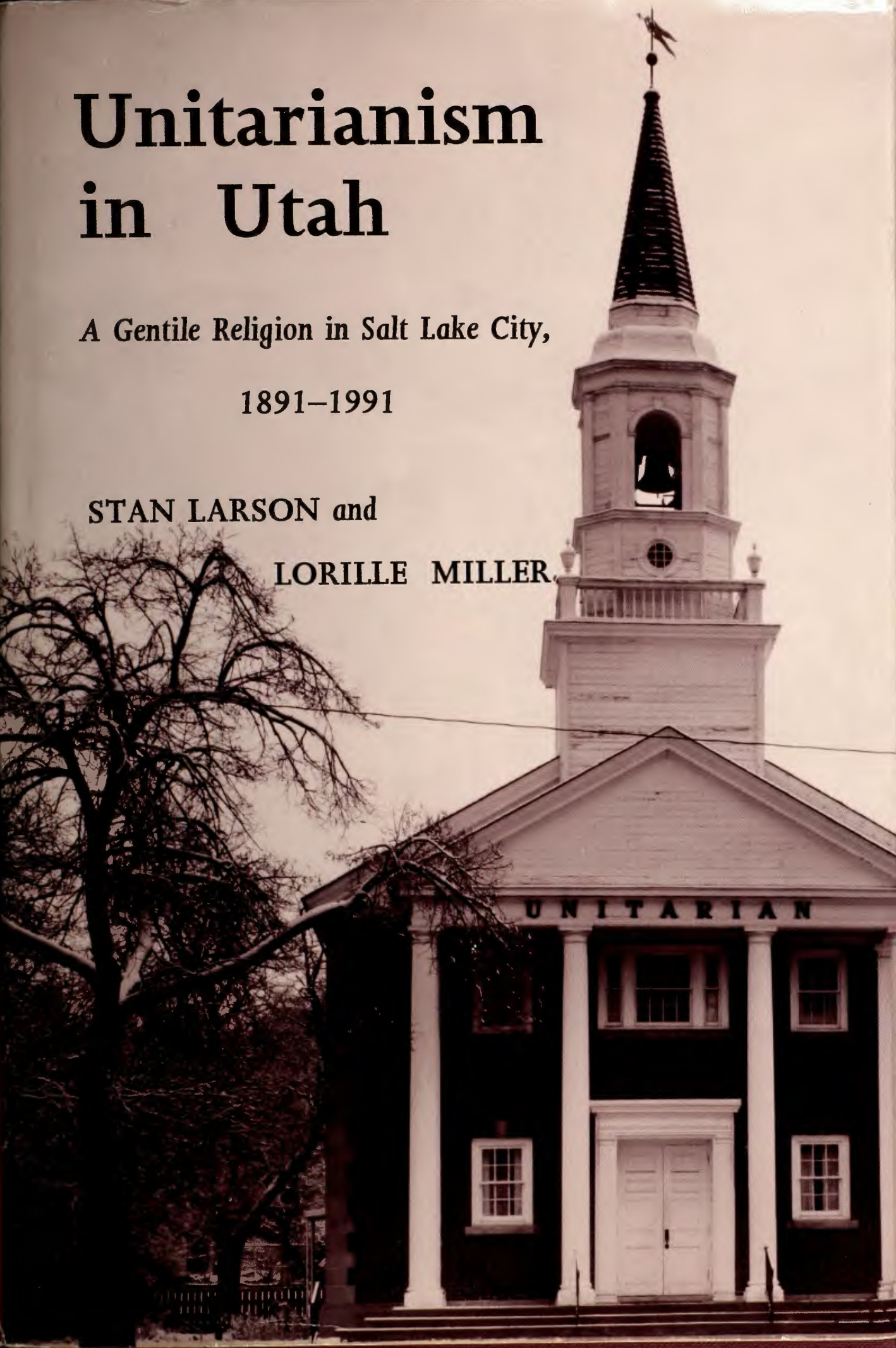
Unitarianism in Utah

A Gentile Religion in Salt Lake City,

1891–1991

STAN LARSON and

LORILLE MILLER.



THOUGH THE FORMAL establishment of a Unitarian society in Salt Lake City dates from February 1891, one must understand how the overall history of the Unitarian movement relates to the growth of religious liberalism in Utah. In a general sense Unitarianism is part of a tradition of truth-seeking based on human reason which is manifest in positions that do not coincide with orthodox Christian doctrines about God and Jesus of Nazareth. Such currents resurfaced through the following centuries in various forms and through various people.

AFTER THE middle ages, Unitarianism appeared during the Protestant Reformation. Earl Morse Wilbur sets it in context and indicates three important principles of the Unitarian movement: I have spoken of this as of a single movement in religious history. . . . Its steadfast and increasing devotion to these three leading principles: first, complete mental freedom in religion; second, the unrestricted use of reason in religion; third, generous tolerance of differing religious views and usages rather than insistence upon uniformity.

DURING UNITARIANISM'S one hundred-year history in Utah twenty-five ministers have been called to serve the church. (The sermons selected for this book provide



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Stan Larson and Lorille Horne Miller

Freethinker Press
Salt Lake City
1991



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Dedicated to
Patricia Rowsell Larson
and
Frank Soren Miller,
Larry, Judi, Tom, and Charlene,
Hey Suk and Yong Suk

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Preface

THE RECORDS of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City, which comprise seventy-six linear feet of shelf space, are identified as Manuscript 508 and are housed in the Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Appreciation is extended to Roger K. Hanson, Dr. Gregory C. Thompson, and Nancy V. Young of that library for their constant encouragement during this project.

As an illustration of how one's knowledge increases as old documents are discovered, in 1966 there was no information about the members of the board of trustees from 1893 to 1896 and very little about the Unitarian society, but in 1988 the original minute book covering 1895 to 1897 was discovered at the Utah State Historical Society. They provided the University library a photocopy of this valuable document, which was added to the collection of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City. This source was particularly useful in providing information on Rev. Adelbert L. Hudson.

The sermons selected for this book provide an example of the preaching of each of the ministers of the First Unitarian Church, except Herbert E. Kellington. The most important discovery during the search for sermons was locating David Utter's "Common Sense in Religion," which was delivered at the Salt Lake Theatre on 18 September 1892. The extant church records contained none of Utter's sermons, but a printed copy of this sermon was found bound with other items in a volume that originally belonged to A. Theodore

Schroeder, a charter member and one of the original board of trustees of the Unitarian society. This book was loaned to us by the Center for Research Libraries of Chicago. The selected discourses were delivered in Salt Lake City, except in the case of Edwin H. Wilson, in which case it was delivered in Schenectady, New York, a year before he came to Utah. In some cases the only available source is a condensed newspaper report. These sermons provide the reader with an opportunity to see numerous threads of Unitarian ideas being expounded over a hundred-year period. Permission to quote their sermons has been given by Jacob Trapp, Ed Wilson, Hugh Gillilan, Ron Clark, Dick Henry, and Tom Goldsmith.

Special credit must be given to Irma Hance and Virginia Picht, local Unitarian Church Historians, who for years gathered historical records and provided a stimulus for others to keep better records. In 1966 they published *In Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the First Unitarian Church*. This book contains a history of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City; historical accounts of the Women's Alliance, the Layman's League, and the Sunday School, and lists of ministers, early members, board members, Women's Alliance leaders, and various other lists. The next year Hance published the *Statistics of First Unitarian Church*, which contains compilations of ministers, dedications of children, marriages, funerals, and the 2,135 known members from 1891 to 1966. Hance and Picht hoped that their efforts would prove useful to those who labored on the centennial history, and this hope has been fulfilled, as these volumes have been a helpful source of information.

In 1986 the Historians Committee of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City was composed of Lorille Miller, chair,

Virginia Picht, Harriett Gilchrist, and Martha Stewart. Harriett Gilchrist and Virginia Picht continued as members of this committee until their deaths in February and May 1990, respectively. Martha Stewart was the causal force in the donation and conveyance of the Unitarian church's documents to the University of Utah Library. Possibly her previous professional association with the Utah State Historical Society made her cognizant of the advantages of placing these valuable documents in a manuscripts repository, where they would be preserved and available for research. She also faithfully volunteered her time to help process the Unitarian collection. At present Betty Greenhalgh, Edwin Wilson, and Muriel Zwick are also members of the Historians Committee. Betty Greenhalgh voluntarily helped process this material, especially the Religious Education and Women's Alliance records. Edwin Wilson, former minister who returned to Salt Lake City in his retirement, provided firsthand reminiscences of Unitarian life in the 1940s. Muriel Zwick clipped newspaper articles for the scrapbooks and biographies in the collection.

The processing of the Unitarian records and the writing of the centennial history spanned the tenures of four presidents of the board: Gary Child, who signed the deed of gift in 1987, transferring the records to the University of Utah; Joan Proctor, who wrote a letter in 1988 in support of the request for funds from the Veatch Program in Plandome, New York; Rayce Tucker, who in 1989 accepted the matching grant of \$17,000 from the Veatch program, which matched an anonymous donation of \$17,000 to the University of Utah to process the records; and Helen Hodgson, who in 1990 helped with the various decisions on publishing this history. The foregoing would not have happened if it were not for

twenty-nine local Unitarian members and friends (including matching grants from two corporations), who initially contributed a total of \$5,000 for the project.

Muriel Mills of the First Unitarian Church of Denver sent us valuable information about, and a few sermons by, David Utter, who went to Denver when he left Salt Lake City. Alan Seaburg of the Andover-Harvard Theological Library at Cambridge, Massachusetts, sent us several copies of Rev. Utter's sermons, some of which were different from the ones received from Denver. Eleanor M. Gehres of the Denver Public Library provided useful information on Rezin and Mila Maynard and the Broadway Temple Association in Denver. Philip S. Thacher of El Cajon, California, a grandson of Rev. Philip S. Thacher, allowed the Marriott library to photocopy Rev. Thacher's original scrapbook, containing newspaper clippings, sermons, and photographs. John Sillito of Weber State University made available to us his research files on William Thurston Brown. Ruth Yeaman, who processed and prepared the register for the Porte Publishing Company Papers (Ms 182), shared with us her insights on Roy T. Porte. Jennifer De La O typed and proofread the sermons selected for inclusion in this volume. John Nielsen created and gave us permission to use the Unitarian logo which was prepared for the centennial celebration.

Additional sources of information were the interviews of former ministers, presidents of the board of trustees, and other prominent Unitarians whose reminiscences are transcribed and available in the Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project, Accession 814, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections, University of Utah Library. These include Rev. Hugh Gillilan, Dorene Gogins, Rev. Tom Goldsmith, Rev. Richard Henry, Barbara Kreek, Bill Monroe, Martha Stewart, Robert

Unitarianism in Utah

Thurman, Rev. Edwin Wilson, Florian Wineriter, and Denna Wright.

The photographs have been supplied by Martin Zwick, William Seifrit, John Sillito, Lorille Horne Miller, Jay Borowczyk, John Telford, Mrs. Kenneth G. (Vida) Carter of the Ladies Literary Club, Susan Whetstone of the Utah State Historical Society, Brian Sokolowsky of the archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and Peter F. Schmid of the Marriott Library.

Dr. Alan Coombs, Dr. Sterling M. McMurrin, Margery Ward, and Nancy V. Young reviewed the manuscript and offered many valuable suggestions. Jana Pullman, Linda Fagen, Rebecca Walker, and Lill Ohman gave valuable suggestions on the type style and layout of the book. Rebecca Walker and Ann Reichman read and corrected the page proofs. Richard Howe provided professional assistance and consultation in all the details of publishing this work.

Having said all this, the responsibility for any errors in the text rests entirely with the authors. This is by no means an apologetic work, and the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City had no control on the text of the history or the selection of the sermons. Controversial topics have not been side-stepped — some will be shocked by the scandals and others refreshed by the frankness. We have done our best to deal honestly with the available documents, and to resort to the minimum of interpretation. The year which has been spent on the writing of this history and locating acceptable sermons has been an exciting and rewarding time.

February 1991

Stan Larson

Lorille Horne Miller

Part One

Centennial History
of the First Unitarian Church
of Salt Lake City

I

The Establishment of Unitarianism in Utah and Its Collapse 1891–1900

ALTHOUGH THE FORMAL ESTABLISHMENT of a Unitarian society in Salt Lake City dates from February 1891, one must understand how the overall history of the Unitarian movement relates to the growth of religious liberalism in Utah.

In a general sense Unitarianism is part of a tradition of truth-seeking based on human reason which is manifest in positions that do not coincide with orthodox Christian doctrines about God and Jesus of Nazareth. With the discovery of the Nag Hammadi codices it is now confirmed that differing interpretations of the meaning of Christianity go back to the second half of the first century — the very time when the traditional Gospels were being written. Irenaeus, Bishop of Lyons, complained in the second century that heretics boasted about having more Gospels than the traditional four. At least some of the Gospels excluded by the orthodox are found in the Nag Hammadi library. By the end of the second century the orthodox had established bishops, priests, and deacons as their authority. Following the Council of Nicea in 325 A.D. and the enforcement of the Trinitarian views by Roman Emperor Constantine forty years later, writings which refuted orthodox Christian doctrines were destroyed, and the views of Gnostic Christians (among

others) "survived only as a suppressed current, like a river driven underground."¹ Such currents resurfaced throughout the following centuries in various forms and through various people.

After the Middle Ages, Unitarianism appeared during the Protestant Reformation. All down through Christian history many believers in other than orthodox Trinitarian views were persecuted and some executed for their expressed faith. Earl Morse Wilbur, whose two-volume work is still the standard history of Unitarianism, sets it in context and indicates three important principles of the Unitarian movement:

I have spoken of this as of a single movement in religious history. For although its developments in the countries with which it has been chiefly associated — Poland, Transylvania, England, America — have been so loosely connected or so little dependent upon one another that they might indeed easily be treated as distinct movements, yet they are in fact all joined together by very clear, even if sometimes slender, threads of historical sequence; . . . throughout their course they exhibit in common certain distinctive marks and principles which fundamentally characterize the movement as a whole. . . .

It is intended . . . to consider broadly the development of a movement fundamentally characterized . . . by its steadfast and increasing devotion to these three leading principles: first, complete mental freedom in religion rather than bondage to creeds or confessions; second, the unrestricted use of reason in religion, rather than reliance upon external authority or past tradition; third, generous tolerance of differing religious views and usages rather than insistence upon uniformity in doctrine, worship, or polity.²

The origin of the term "unitarianism" is disputed, but it seems to have been first used in the sixteenth century in either

¹ Elaine Pagels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York: Vintage Books, a Division of Random House, Inc., 1979), 150.

² Earl Morse Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1947-52), 1: 4-5, emphasis in original.

Poland or Hungary in the neo-Latin form, *Unitarius*.³ It goes back to King John Sigismund of Transylvania, the only Unitarian king in history, who in 1568 issued the first edict of religious toleration, and established the first church with the name Unitarian.

New England was the place of origin of American Unitarianism and it is still strongest there. In January 1750 at Boston, Massachusetts, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, Unitarian minister of the West Church in Boston, delivered a sermon to mark the anniversary of the execution of Charles I of England a century earlier entitled "On Unlimited Submission to Rulers," which argued against the divine right of kings and any form of royal or ecclesiastical absolutism. The sermon was extremely popular and was praised by his friends and vilified by his enemies. He was the first minister to publish his doubt concerning the Trinity, when in 1755 he added a note to a published sermon.⁴

Historically Unitarianism emphasized the oneness of God and put reason ahead of creed. In 1819 William Ellery Channing, minister of the Federal Street Church in Boston, preached a sermon at the ordination of Jared Sparks in which he defined what Unitarianism meant and the direction it would pursue.⁵ In 1820 the Berry Street Conference of liberal ministers was formed, which in 1825 became the American Unitarian Association with 125 churches, mostly in Massachusetts.⁶ Many Unitarian churches did not join the

³ John Malick, ed., *A Study of the Christian Sects, with an Introductory Chapter on the Jews*, by William H. Lyon, 13th ed., rev. and enl. (Boston: The Beacon Press Inc., 1926), 177.

⁴ Charles W. Akers, *Called unto Liberty: A Life of Jonathan Mayhew* (Cambridge, 1964).

⁵ David Robinson, *The Unitarians and the Universalists* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1985), 30.

⁶ Conrad Wright, ed., *A Stream of Light: A Sesquicentennial History of American Unitarianism* (Boston: Unitarian Universalist Association, 1975), 30–31.

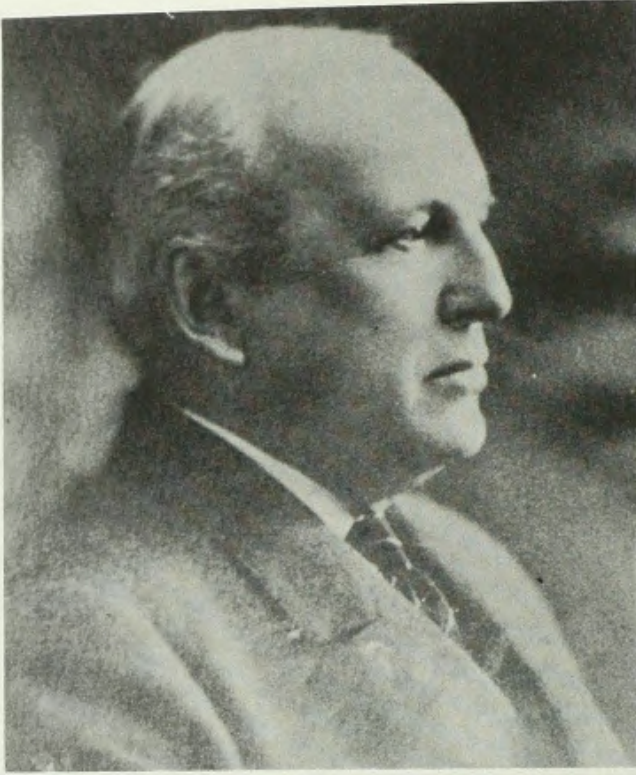


Fig. 1. Samuel Eliot, 1890. Lorille Miller

association for fear that it would impede their freedom. Unitarians were involved in the struggle against slavery and were important to the success of the Abolitionist movement. Unitarians and Universalists, such as Susan B. Anthony in woman's suffrage, Dorothea Dix in prison reform and the treatment of the mentally ill, and Horace Mann in the cause of public education, have pioneered in human welfare. Unitarianism has never attracted a large number of adherents, but its liberal influence in general religious thought has been significant.

In the territory of Utah during the 1880s there was an influx of prominent and influential people from the eastern United States. Some came for the economic potential and



Fig. 2. University Club Building, 34–38 West 200 South. *Utah State Historical Society*

others were political appointees. Also, the dominant church, The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints — known also as the Mormon church or the LDS church — had within its community disillusioned or disaffected members who were seeking a more liberal approach to religious quests.

When the young Rev. Samuel A. Eliot became the minister of Unity Church in Denver in 1889, he was the only settled Unitarian minister between Kansas and California. Rev. Eliot decided to establish the Rocky Mountain Conference for Colorado, Wyoming, and Utah, and with missionary zeal he made trips away from Denver. One of his targeted areas was Salt Lake City, and he wondered if a liberal church could be



Fig. 3. University Club Building, inside view. Utah State Historical Society

established there.⁷ Returning from the Seattle area where he had organized the First Unitarian Church of Seattle three years earlier, he and his wife arrived in Salt Lake City on 29 November 1890 and were honored that evening with a reception at the University Club. Mrs. Eliot later recalled that they “spent a day going in and out of stores, banks, and business offices, in fact, selling our wares — namely a ‘Liberal Religion.’”⁸ The first formal introduction of Unitarianism in Utah began on 30 November 1890 when Eliot preached at the Salt Lake Theatre about the value of

⁷ Samuel A. Eliot, Letter to Roy T. Porte, 9 February 1931, printed in *The Humanist* 4 (February 1936), located in the First Unitarian Church Collection, Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 8, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Hereinafter this collection is abbreviated to Ms 508.

⁸ Arthur Cushman McGiffert, Jr., *Pilot of a Liberal Faith: Samuel Atkins Eliot, 1862–1950* ([Boston]: Beacon Press, 1976), 48.



Fig. 4. Salt Lake Theatre, 100 South State. Utah State Historical Society

forming a “People’s Church” based on a broad, non-sectarian basis. More than three hundred people turned out for this first sermon, which was entitled “I Want Not Yours —But You.”

Among other things Eliot said:

Some people join the church, (1) because they don’t want to go to hell when they die, (2) because they want to stand well with their neighbors, (3) because they think church connection helps social and mental standing, and (4) because they regard religion merely as a social engine to regulate the community. Selfish motives exhibited in joining the church were scored as hypocritical. The church about to be formed must show no selfishness. Your associations will be the most pleasant; only remember that the Unitarian Church values sincerity rather than outward conformity. We offer no fire insurance against the future, as do some of our neighbors who bring in people by promising future immunity of fire. The Unitarian Church does not teach such things. . . .

This Church rejoices in being heterodox, and in proclaiming that religion is a life and not a performance; that deed and not word is the thing; that true worship is not clad in ecclesiastical

haberdashery, ritual, or dogma. We do not mistake glibness in catechism for real appreciation of religion. We protest against dogmatic tests of fellowship, and maintain that the church is not a factory for the manufacture of emotion and emotional piety, which is boneless and unable to stand alone. Man's eternal welfare cannot stand on any fantasy of ecstasy. . . . We are an organization of men and women who will help one another toward the highest things we know of. I do not ask you to establish a Church to seek for what you can get. Help others, lead the ideal life where you can look up, help up, and bring your life into union with eternal verities. . . .

The speaker [Eliot] decried sanctimoniousness. Religion means rather taking God for our friend, walking in the right way, living for noble ends, and we should always maintain cheerfulness and a smiling face. No dogmatic tests, no secret initiation, bar the door to our communion. Never mind philosophy; get face to face with true realities of life. Be strong enough to supply the link between effort and success. Be single in heart and just in purpose. Be one together, one in the freedom of youth, one in the soul's perennial bloom, in the life that maketh all things new.⁹

Eliot's initial sermon impressed the audience and "his explanation of the beliefs of Unitarians revealed at once to many that they had been Unitarians at heart for years without knowing it."¹⁰ After the meeting about thirty people gathered together to discuss the prospects of organizing a church in Salt Lake City. Rev. Eliot had originally planned to remain for another Sunday, but he received a telegram notifying him of the death of one of his trustees and had to leave for Denver the next day.

Accordingly, Eliot asked Rev. Trowbridge B. Forbush, superintendent of the Western Missionary Field of the American Unitarian Association, to visit Salt Lake City. On

⁹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 1 December 1890, 5, a transcript of which is located in Ms 508, Bx 2, Fd 1.

¹⁰ First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, Utah: Constitution and Reports (Salt Lake City: Press of The Irrigation Age, 1892), 13, located in Ms 508, Bx 2, Fd 4.

7 December 1890 Rev. Forbush preached at the Salt Lake Theatre on the nature of Unitarian belief and stated that an association of liberal Christians was “needed in Salt Lake that was not attached to any ’doxy or ’ism.” He stated that the outmoded concept of God has vanished forever, and that “if we call this adorable presence by the old name [God], it is because of a want in the English language to supply an expression comprehending the ineffable presence.”¹¹ Rev. Forbush called for a meeting on 11 December 1890 at the Walker House to consider establishing a “People’s Church” and made tentative arrangements for the finances to support religious services for the winter. After due discussion among the fifty people who attended, it was moved that a church be established and that a committee of five men and two women be appointed to take charge of the movement until a formal organization could be made and a suitable minister obtained. Those appointed were Nat M. Brigham, A. Theodore Schroeder, Hezekiah P. Mason, Wendell Benson, Duncan McInnes, Mary E. Almy, and Leonora Trent. The next two Sundays Forbush spoke on “The Unitarian View of the Bible” and “A Unitarian’s Thought of God,” respectively.

Then Rev. Ernest C. Smith, a colleague of Eliot in Denver, stopped in Salt Lake City en route from the Pacific Coast and preached the last Sunday in December on “The Relation of Jesus to the Present Age.” Rev. Enoch Powell of the Unitarian Superintendency of Kansas and Nebraska preached on 4 January 1891 on the subject of “Who Gave Thee Thy Authority, and Why Doest Thou These Things?” (cf. Matthew 21:23), saying that Unitarians “cannot believe in the infallibility of a book [the Bible] interpreted by a thousand

¹¹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 8 December 1890, 5.

different sects in a thousand different ways.”¹² The following Thursday about thirty people listened to Rev. Powell speak on “Unitarianism: Its Nature and Province” at the Walker House. The group in attendance felt that a Unitarian Society would be of benefit to people who had outgrown strict sects and formal creeds, and decided to drop the name “People’s Church,” which up until then had been used. This was done to avoid confusion with various Mormon groups, like the People’s Party and the People’s Equitable Cooperative. The editor of the Salt Lake Tribune pointed out that not only was there confusion with these Mormon organizations, but also use of the term “People’s Church” attracted Latter-day Saints “who think the services are Mormon, and when they find out what the church is, they create a disturbance by leaving the building.”¹³ On 11 January 1891 Rev. Powell spoke on “The Church of the Leaven,” and urged that a Unitarian society be established in Salt Lake City.

In mid-January Rev. David N. Utter arrived and preached for six weeks, from 18 January to 22 February 1891. This period gave those interested in the Unitarian movement ample time to decide what they thought of Rev. Utter as the pastor in Salt Lake City. In his very first sermon, which was entitled “The Essentials of Christianity,” Rev. Utter preached:

God had no need to resort to a miracle or any wonderful manifestation of His power to prove His divinity, and . . . Christ as the man, not Christ as the God, was the one who drew forth our sympathies. If I thought that He who died on Calvary was a God, having a human body, and at the same time as divine, I should view it all as an eccentric exhibition of power, but it would never touch me as the thought of a man dying a victim of his friend’s

¹² The Salt Lake Tribune, 5 January 1891, 5.

¹³ The Salt Lake Tribune, 18 January 1891, 8.

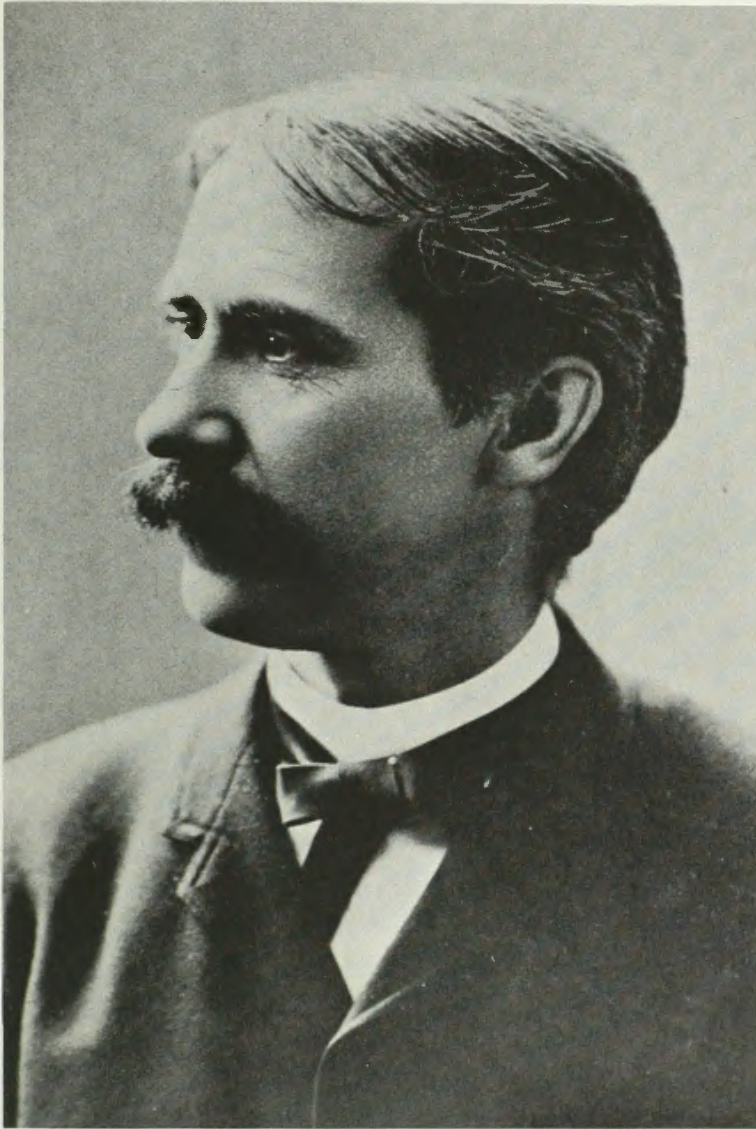


Fig. 5. David Utter, 1891 to 1894. Marriott Library

treason, dying to save those friends, his feeble followers. It is the thought of his humanity that touches and always has touched mankind.¹⁴

¹⁴ The Salt Lake Tribune, 19 January 1891, 5.



Fig. 6. Walker House, 246 South Main. Utah State Historical Society

In 1867 Rev. Utter had received a B.S. degree from Butler College at Indianapolis, Indiana, and in 1871 he received from Harvard Divinity School the degree of S.T.B. — the Latin words “*Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureus*” mean “the bachelor of sacred theology.” Utter was a minister in Belfast, Maine, when he accepted a call in 1875 to go to Washington Territory and serve as a missionary with headquarters at Olympia. In 1880 he moved to the First Unitarian Society of Chicago, Illinois. While Rev. Utter was in Chicago, he and Jenkin Lloyd Jones discussed a proposed congress of Christian churches in the United States and as a result of this conference the idea changed to become a parliament of all world religions.¹⁵ The idea came to fruition in 1893 as the

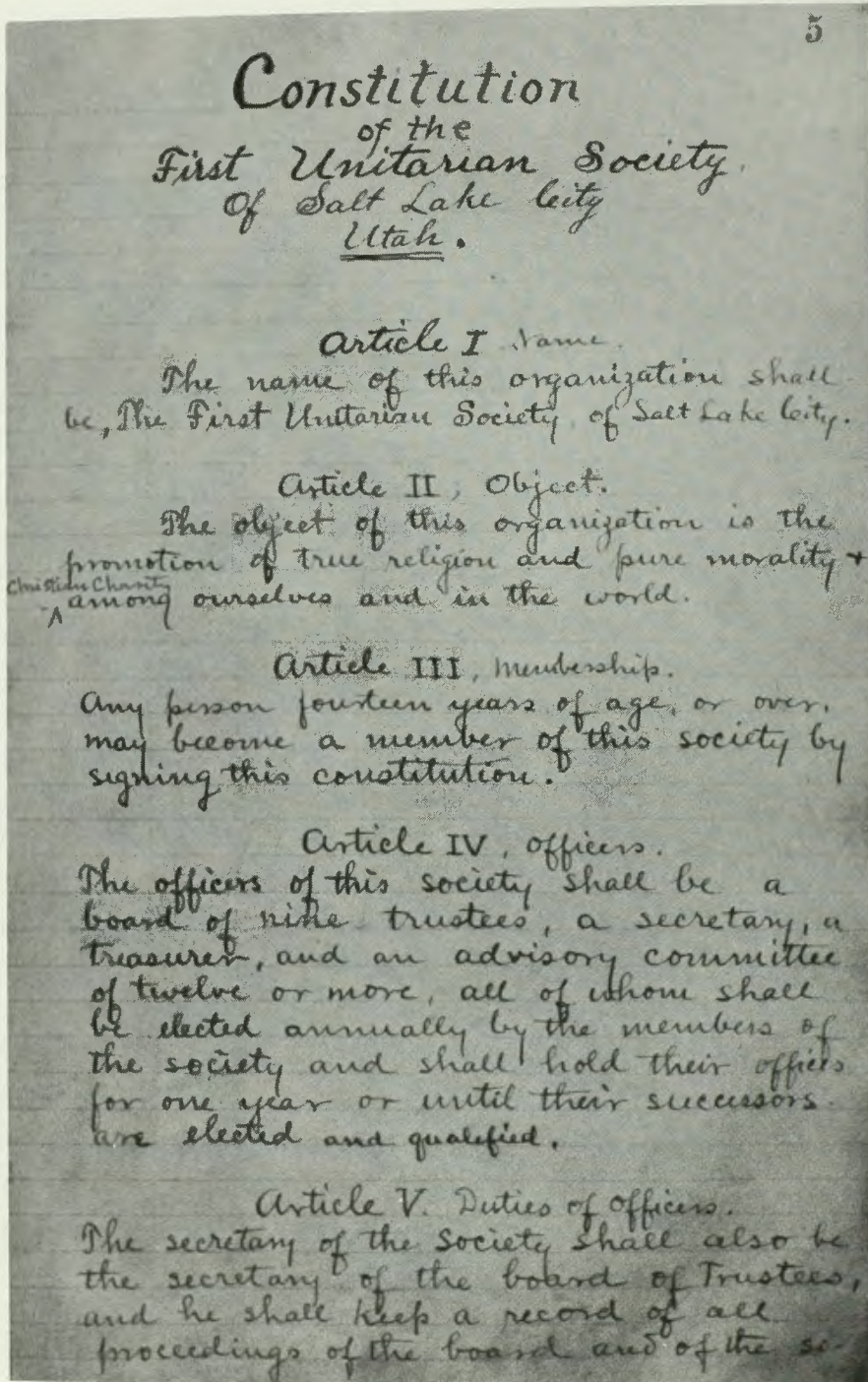
¹⁵ Charles H. Lytle, *Freedom Moves West: A History of the Western Unitarian Conference, 1852–1952* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), 205–206.

World Parliament of Religions, which was part of the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

The meeting for the permanent organization of "The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City" was held on Tuesday evening, 24 February 1891, at the parlors of the Walker House, a local hotel at 246 South Main. Nat M. Brigham presided and Ernest M. Fowler acted as secretary. A three-page constitution was read and adopted, at which time a recess was taken in order to allow those who wanted to become members of the new society to place their signature on the constitution. The stated purpose was "the promotion of true religion and pure morality among ourselves and in the world." The constitution's lack of mentioning any practical application in the real world was rectified a year later by the interlinear addition of the phrase "& Christian charity" after the word morality.¹⁶ On motion of Alexander L. Pollock, managing editor of the *Salt Lake Herald*, the following nine-member board of trustees was elected: Walter Almy, Wendell Benson, Nat M. Brigham, Albert F. Holden, Henry W. Lawrence, Hezekiah P. Mason, A. Theodore Schroeder, Valentine M. C. Silva, and Charles E. Wantland. The board of trustees was to elect its own president, and at the first board meeting on 2 March 1891 Nat M. Brigham was elected president, a position he held until 1897. The board of trustees entered into a contract with Rev. David Utter to serve the society as pastor for the term of one year at a fixed salary of \$3,000, to be increased to \$3,600, if possible.

At this initial meeting a secretary, a treasurer, and a thirteen-member advisory committee, which was concerned

¹⁶ Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1.



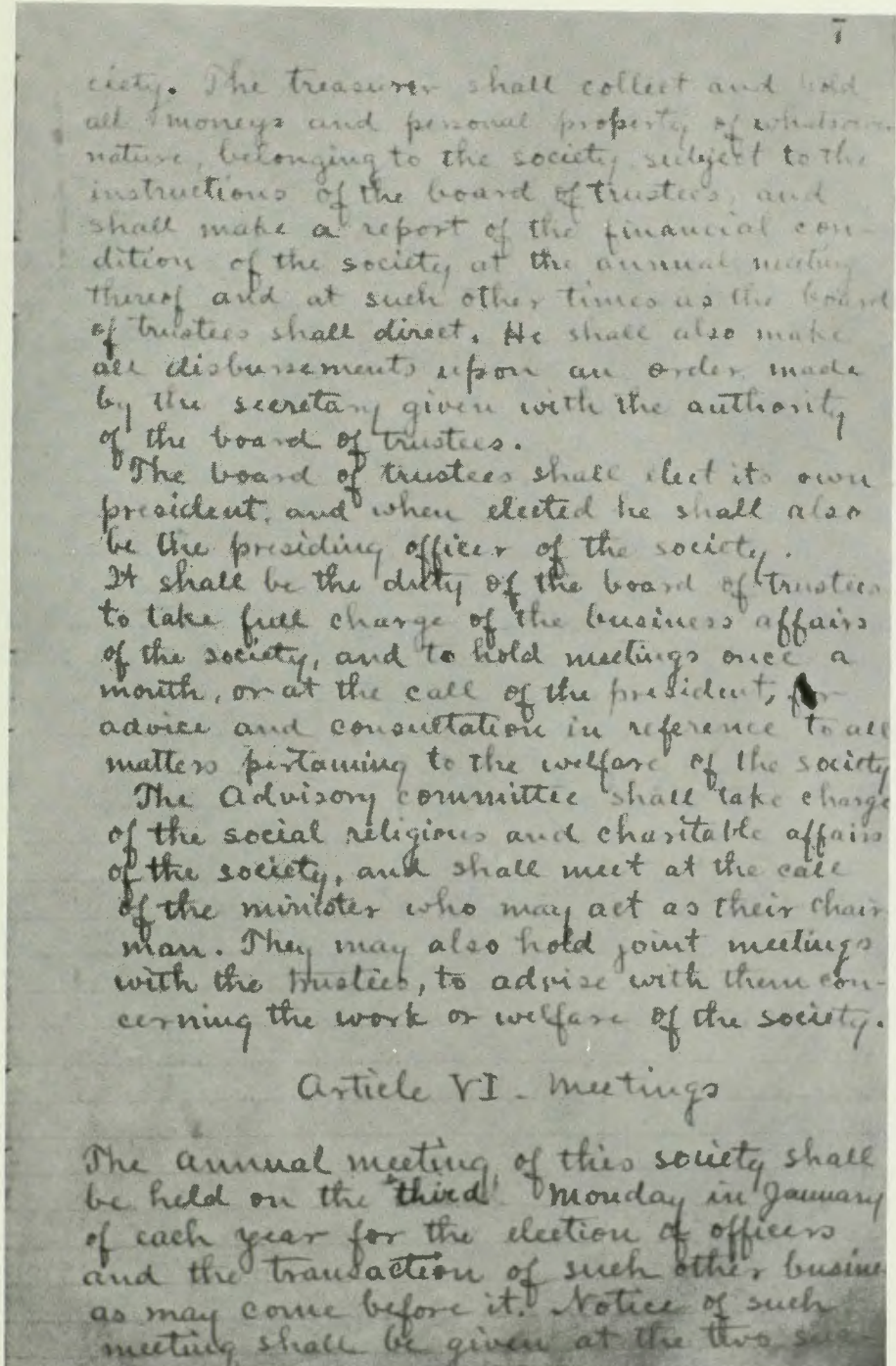
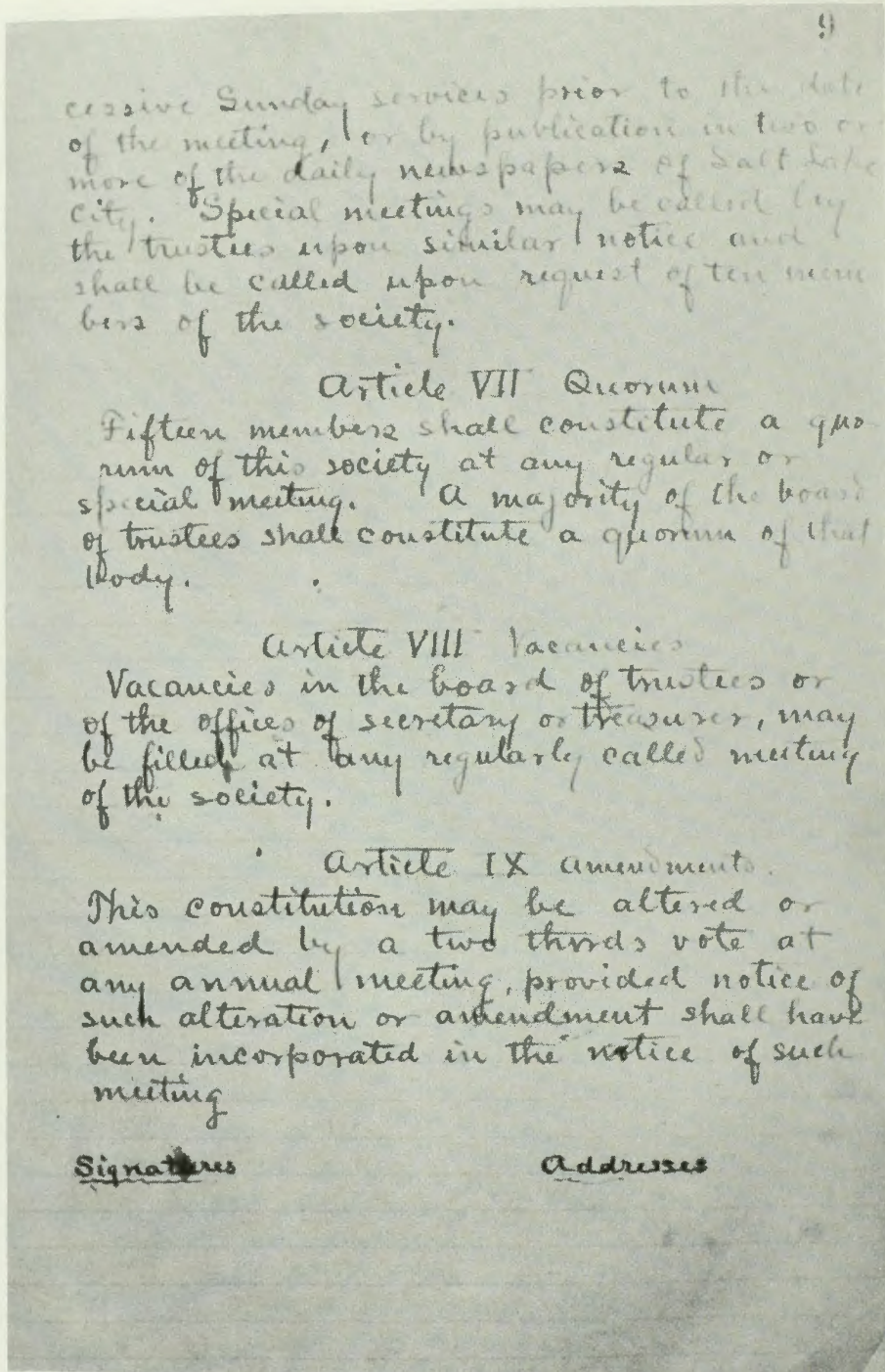


Fig. 8. Constitution of the First Unitarian Society, 1891. Marriott Library



cessive Sunday services prior to the date of the meeting, or by publication in two or more of the daily newspapers of Salt Lake City. Special meetings may be called by the trustees upon similar notice and shall be called upon request of ten members of the society.

Article VII Quorum

Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum of this society at any regular or special meeting. A majority of the board of trustees shall constitute a quorum of that body.

Article VIII Vacancies

Vacancies in the board of trustees or of the offices of secretary or treasurer, may be filled at any regularly called meeting of the society.

Article IX Amendments.

This constitution may be altered or amended by a two thirds vote at any annual meeting, provided notice of such alteration or amendment shall have been incorporated in the notice of such meeting.

Signatures

Addresses

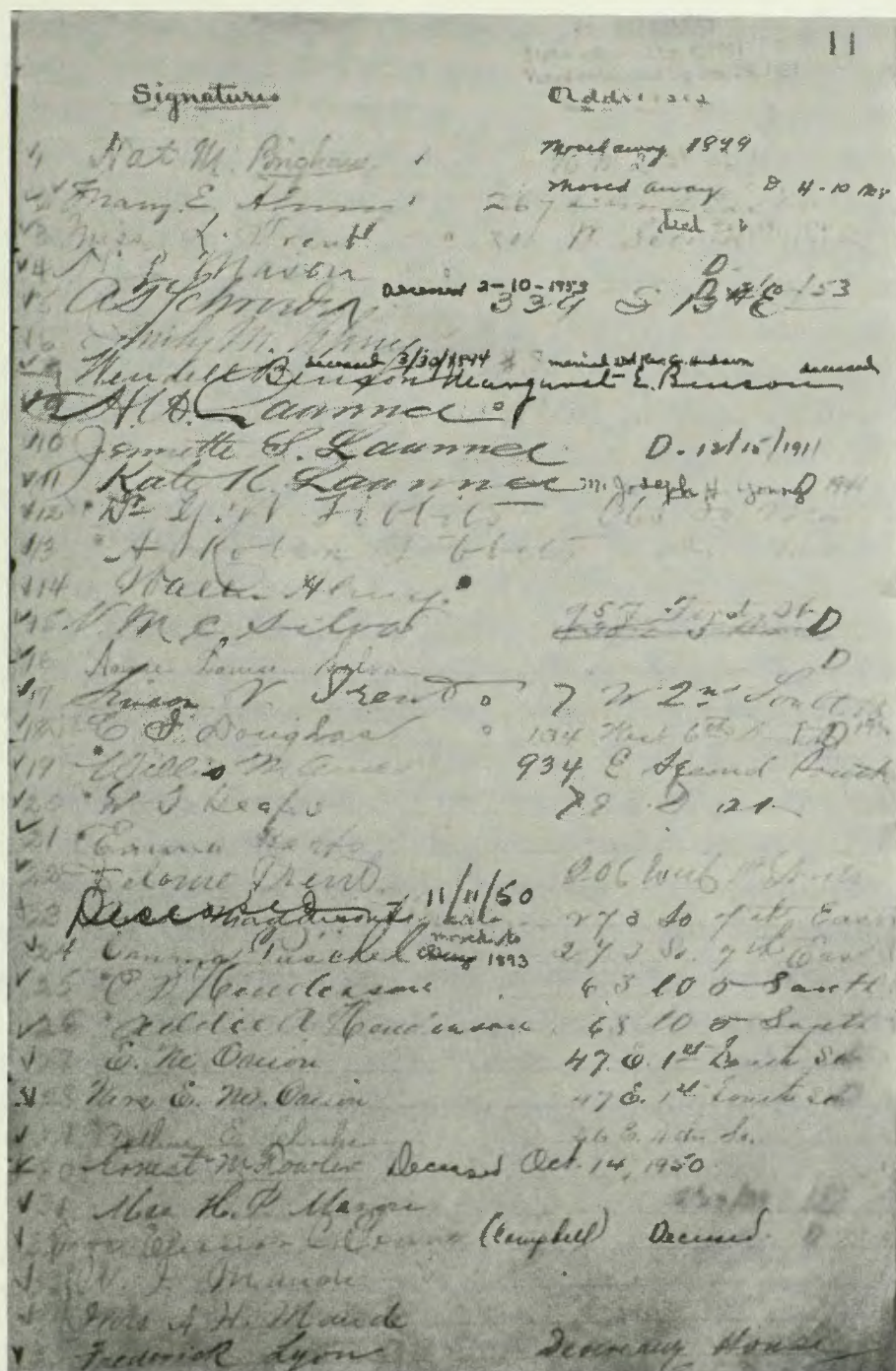


Fig. 10. Signatures of Charter Members, 1891. Marriott Library

with social, charitable, and literary activities, were elected. Approval was also given to appoint a subscription committee to raise funds for the society. Walter Almy moved that the society invite Rev. David Utter to become their first minister, and the members unanimously approved his motion. Though Utter felt there was a bright prospect for this society and appreciated their invitation to be their pastor, he requested time to give this call his serious consideration. Brigham informed the society that for a weekly rental of \$20 meetings could be held at the Salt Lake Theatre, located at 100 South State and owned by the Salt Lake Dramatic Association. Alexander L. Pollock asked that the society thank Brigham for his efforts in assisting to organize the society and that Brigham appoint himself as one of the five-member subscription committee. During the meeting Annie L. Silva, who sang with the Salt Lake Opera Company, gave a rendition of "Annie Laurie." Henry W. Lawrence spoke humorously about the success of the society.

According to the society's 1892 publication, on the day of organization forty-six people signed their names to the constitution. This statement is confirmed by scrutiny of the ink on the pages of the original constitution. The Salt Lake Tribune account, which was published the next day, indicates that there were "about fifty" who signed the constitution.¹⁷

The identification of each of these original members of the board of trustees follows: Walter Almy was a bookkeeper at

¹⁷First Unitarian Society (1892), 14. The Salt Lake Tribune, 25 February 1891, p. 5. Irma Watson Hance and Virginia Hendrickson Picht, In Commemoration of the Seventy-Fifth Anniversary of the Founding of the First Unitarian Church ([Salt Lake City: Committee on Church Records], 1966), 11-13, 57, are not correct when they refer to as "charter members" of the society, what is really a directory of the 187 Unitarians as of January 1892. For example, Rev. Utter and his wife are included in the 1892 list, but neither one of them (for reasons unknown) ever signed the constitution.

Daly Mining Company. Wendell Benson, a business promoter working for some Boston financiers, was the first one chosen for the office of vice president, when that position was begun in 1892. Nat M. Brigham, who was appointed by President Grover Cleveland as the U.S. marshal in May 1893, was elected as the first president of the board of trustees and continued in that position until 1897. Albert F. Holden, a mining engineer, was the superintendent of the Old Jordan and Galena Mining Company. Henry W. Lawrence, with Elias L. T. Harrison (who joined the Unitarian society later during its first year), had been an active participant in the Godbeite Movement in rebellion against Brigham Young in 1870. Hezekiah P. Mason, a lumber merchant, was the treasurer and manager of Mason and Company. A. Theodore Schroeder, a lawyer by profession, during his career published many books and pamphlets, including *Some Facts concerning Polygamy* (1898), *"Obscene" Literature and Constitutional Law* (1911), and *Free Speech for Radicals* (1916). Major Valentine M. C. Silva, who served as the Unitarian treasurer in 1896, was an agent for the Red Line Transit Company, which paved the first street in Salt Lake City. Charles E. Wantland, in real estate and investments, was an agent for Union Pacific Railway Lands, which included three million acres in Utah and Wyoming.

The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City enjoyed an unusual measure of prestige from its very beginning. Utter had shown himself to be a powerful preacher and an able administrator. In 1891 Rev. Minot J. Savage, minister of the Church of the Unity at Boston and a prolific Unitarian writer, took a two-month tour of the Unitarian churches along the West Coast — Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, Oakland, San Francisco, San Jose, Alameda, San Diego, Los Angeles, and Fresno.

Unitarianism in Utah

As he traveled from the West Coast back to Boston, he spent a Sunday in Salt Lake City, and was very impressed with Rev. Utter and with the strength in the young church there.¹⁸ During the summer a Sunday School for the children was organized, with Chester W. Ames as the superintendent. Within six months they had an enrollment of 113 and an average attendance of fifty.

Since its founding in 1891, the Unitarian society has been a center for liberal religious thought and has provided a free and open platform for presentation and discussion of unpopular ideas of all kinds. Supreme authority rests in the individual congregation, and the Salt Lake Unitarian society is completely autonomous. It relies, however, on the national and regional organizations for moral support and sometimes financial assistance.

On 10 September 1891 in the same parlor of the Walker House, thirteen women organized the Ladies Unitarian Society, which is an independent body. Emily M. Almy, a charter member and the wife of one of the board of trustees, was elected president pro tempore. Four weeks later a formal constitution and bylaws were adopted and all the temporary officers were elected as the society's regular officers, with the addition of Rebecca P. Utter as a second vice president. With an annual membership fee of one dollar, it was organized "for the purpose of promoting the welfare of the Church, good fellowship, charitable and intellectual endeavors."¹⁹ They met in the Metropolitan Hotel dining room, paying a weekly rental of three and a half dollars for their Thursday afternoon meetings.

¹⁸ Arnold Crompton, *Unitarianism on the Pacific Coast: The First Sixty Years* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1957), 140-42.

¹⁹ *First Unitarian Society* (1892), 18.

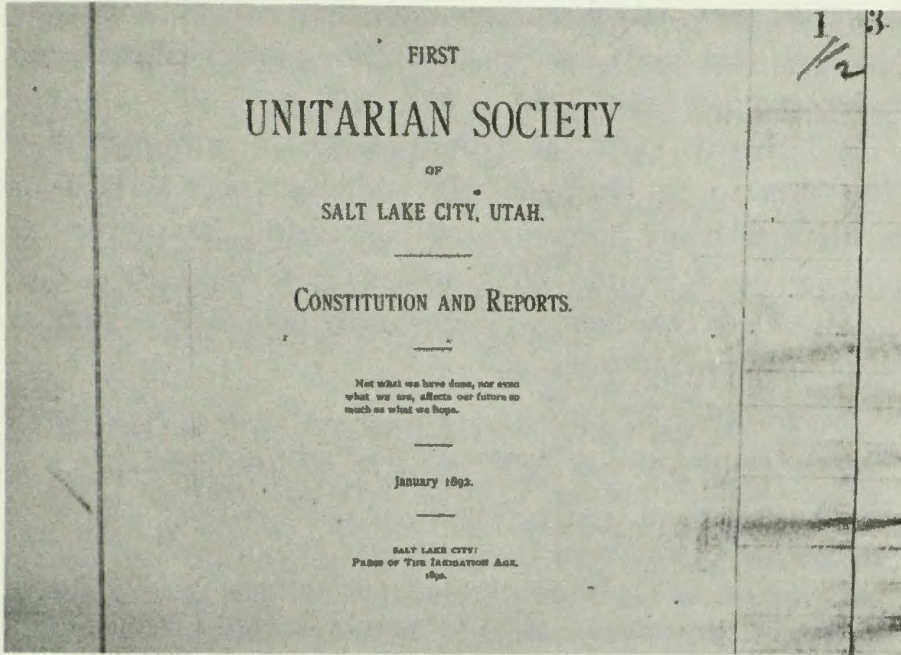


Fig. 11. First Unitarian Society, First Annual Report, 1892. Marriott Library

The first annual meeting of the Unitarian society was held on 11 January 1892, and at this meeting the office of historian was filled, with Margaret E. Benson being chosen for that position. At the same meeting the constitution was amended so that the board of trustees could elect a vice president to function in the absence of the president. Consideration was also given to the construction of a new building in which to meet, hopefully within the next three or four years. The first year's budget showed expenditures of \$4,187 and an income of \$4,304. There were 150 members of the society and the weekly attendance was about 300.²⁰ One thousand copies of the published report of this

²⁰ The Salt Lake Tribune, 12 January 1892, 6.

annual meeting, which printed the society's constitution, the minutes, and the list of members, were distributed throughout Salt Lake City.²¹

On 13 March 1892 Rev. Utter preached a sermon entitled "The Way to be Happy." He said that there were four essentials to being happy: being born into a happy family, enjoying good health, living above the poverty level, and having a clear conscience. Utter illustrated this last essential with the following story:

He [Utter] related the allegory of the worry-burdened souls who were once permitted to bring each his load and throw it in a designated place, and then take from the pile thus made the load which any other person would throw down. He saw, for it was a dreamer who witnessed this scene, many people come with their loads of trouble and throw them on the heap, but none seemed desirous of unloading his sins. As the crowds pressed forward to the pile to deposit their burdens, they indulged in much moaning, but after they had got the load of some other person on their shoulders, then began the scene of the greatest wailing and sorrow. So it is in the world we occupy, each thinks his load greater than that of any one else, but each soul has its own sorrow, and all are heavy enough to bear. The law of happiness is to avoid seeking for it, but to renounce our own desires in the effort to please and bless others. . . .²²

As well as using allegories to illustrate his sermons, Rev. Utter also collected Mormon folklore — a trait which earned him the title of being Utah's first folklorist.²³ One of the

²¹ [Jacob Trapp], *The Humanist* 4 (February 1936), located in Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 8.

²² Abraham H. Cannon, *Diary*, 13 March 1892, Ms 3, photocopy at Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, with the original at the Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah. Hereinafter this collection is abbreviated to Ms 3.

²³ Dave Stanley, "A Look Back at 1985 — and at Utah's First Folklorists," *Utah Folklife Newsletter* 19 (Fall 1985): 2. Cf. William A. Wilson, "The Study of Mormon Folklore," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 44 (Fall 1976): 317–18.

people who early joined the Unitarians was Ardelle Young Harrison, a daughter of Brigham Young by his tenth wife, Emmeline Free. Ardelle had many conversations with Rev. Utter about Mormon beliefs and traditions which she had learned in her childhood, including stories of "The Three Nephites." Rev. Utter sent to the Chicago Folk-Lore Society the following account of one of these reputed Nephite apostles visiting Brigham Young:

At the time of the Crucifixion, Christ came to America, and gave an epitome of the Gospel to the people here, and just as he was leaving them, three [disciples] petitioned to remain on the earth, till he came again. Their request was granted, and so they remain. All this you may read in the Book of Mormon. Now, the Mormons took up this "Wandering Jew" legend with avidity, and many of the saints now living tell that they have, at different times, seen one or more of these three immortal "Nephites." A daughter of Brigham Young, now a good Unitarian, has told me that her father told, with great and solemn pleasure, of an interview that he had with one of these remaining apostles in Liverpool, when he was there on a mission. The apostle met him at the chapel door, an old man with a long gray beard, made himself known, and spoke many encouraging and helpful words.²⁴

David Utter arranged for a Unitarian conference, in which representatives from various religions would present their theological viewpoint followed by a Unitarian response. This ecumenical roundtable took place in May 1892 in the Jewish temple in Salt Lake City. The major participants were Rabbi Moses P. Jacobson of the Congregation B'nai Israel, Rev.

²⁴ David Utter, "Mormon Superstitions." *The Folk-Lorist: Journal of the Chicago Folk-Lore Society* 1 (July 1892): 76.

Robert G. McNiece of the Presbyterian church, Bishop Orson F. Whitney of the Mormon church, Rev. Joseph H. Crooker of the Unitarian church at Helena, Montana, and Rev. David Utter. After Whitney described the Mormon view of God including the epigram, "As man now is God once was, as God now is man may be," Crooker replied that he stood appalled "at the sublime audacity that dares to tell us what kind of a being God is, and how he came to be God."²⁵ One reporter of this conference, who described Utter as a liberal minded freethinker, was worried after hearing Utter's sermon that "the tendency of the age seems to be almost a universal acceptance of Unitarianism, which . . . is only another name for infidelity, whose teachings ignore Christ as a divine being, and scout the idea of His apostles being inspired by the Holy Ghost." The Mormon reporter apparently felt insecure because Utter's Unitarianism demolished dogmatic creeds and questioned the traditions of orthodox Christianity.²⁶

On 17 April 1893 the society was formally incorporated under the laws of the Territory of Utah as the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City. Its contribution to the religious quest and freedom's struggle in the State of Utah is significant.

In August 1893 Rev. Utter published an article entitled "The Higher Criticism of the Bible," in which he cautioned that the term "criticism" in this context did not refer to fault-finding, since "the critical study of the Bible is simply a careful consideration, a judicial examination of the book upon its merits." He suggested that Biblical texts should be

²⁵ Orson F. Whitney, *Through Memory's Halls: The Life Story of Orson F. Whitney As Told by Himself* (Independence, Missouri: Zion's Printing and Publishing Company, 1930), 204-205.

²⁶ Seymour B. Young, "Some Thoughts on Reading the Exercises of the Late Unitarian Conference," *The Young Woman's Journal* 3 (July 1892): 451-52.

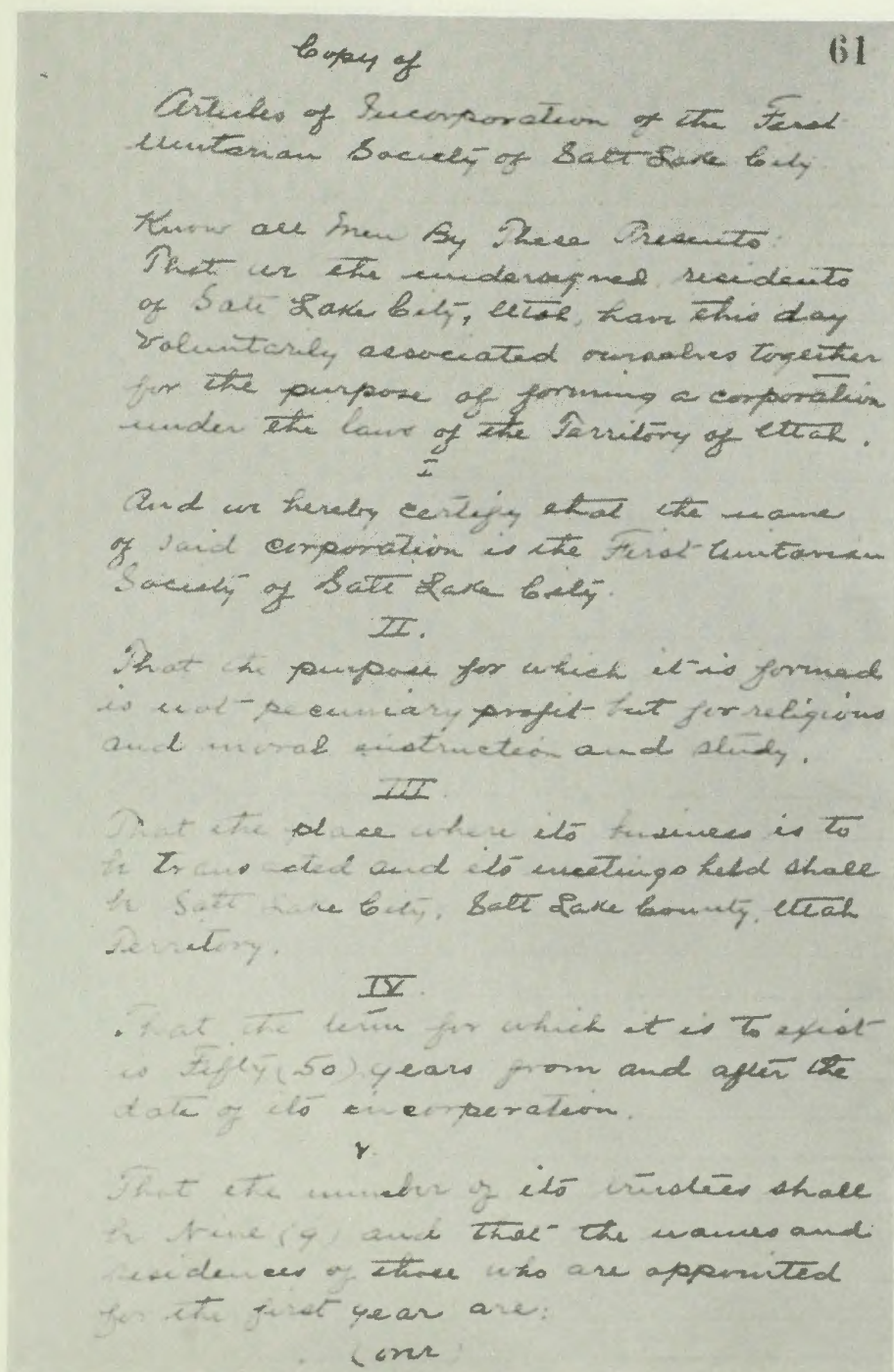


Fig. 12. Articles of Incorporation, 1893. Marriott Library

Names	Residence
✓ Walter Alamy	Salt Lake City.
✓ Nat M. Brigham	"
✓ Elmer B. Jones	" D
✓ Henry W. Lawrence	"
✓ Eugene Lewis	"
✓ S. J. Fenn	"
✓ W. M. C. Sabra	"
✓ Charles S. Varian d. Mar. 24, 1922	"
✓ C. C. Whiting	"

Y I.

That at a meeting of said Society duly called and held on the 2d. day of April 1893, at the Salt Lake Theatre Salt Lake City, Utah Territory, and at said meeting a majority of all the members of said Society being present, the board of trustees, hereafter named, in article V, were duly elected for one year from January 9th, 1893, or until their successors shall have been duly elected and shall have duly qualified.

Y II.

That the individual property of the incorporators and members of this corporation shall not be liable for the corporate obligations.

Y III.

In Witness Whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals this second day of April, A. D. One Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety Three.

Elmer B. Jones. V. S. J. Fenn.

Walter Alamy

C. S. Handerson.

Samuel L. Dyer

Ernest M. Fenn

77 Signatures.

65

Status unknown Mar. 1, 1951
Voted annual meeting given 28/1/1951

✓ 9	Henry H. Lawrence.	✓ 121	Chas. H. Cline
✓	E. A. Whiting.	✓ 122	Mrs. M. Jones
✓ 10	John H. Haukauer.	✓ 123	William Whiting.
✓ 11	H. A. H. Peasack	✓ 124	H. Polla Debito
✓	Delorne Trent.	✓ 125	Fred Longbourne
✓	J. C. Ross.	✓ 126	Ann. Gills Mylles
✓ 12	Francis C. McRae	✓ 127	Eva Cohen
✓ 13	W. Vernon Culmer	✓ 128	David Litter
✓	Miss Laveria Trent	✓ 129	Sarah H. Bayliss
✓	Mrs. F. Barnmaster	✓ 130	Chas. P. Farver
✓ 14	Lyle de Halle.	✓ 131	E. F. Buss.
✓	Mrs. L. H. Farnsworth	✓ 132	Julia L. Buss.
✓ 15	G. C. Farnsworth	✓ 133	Josephine E. Buss.
✓	Mrs. M. A. B. Lloyd	✓ 134	Edmund H. Cushing
✓	L. H. Farnsworth	✓ 135	F. L. Farnsworth
✓	Ellen Schutzgabel	✓ 136	August B. Elder
✓	Fred L. Cushing	✓ 137	Wm. Thomas Walker
✓	A. B. Cherry D.	✓ 138	Frank Barnes.
✓	Mrs. L. Porter	✓ 139	Leslie H. Aines
✓	Lloyd Porter	✓ 140	H. F. Culmer.
✓	C. A. Aines	✓ 141	Mrs. J. F. Culmer.
✓	Mrs. C. A. Aines	✓ 142	Mrs. C. B. Henderson
✓	Mrs. A. F. Harrison	✓ 143	Geo. Salisbury
✓	H. P. Mason	✓ 144	John Hagutern.
✓	Rena Larson	✓ 145	Mrs. L. Napper
✓	Minnie Napper	✓ 146	Margaret B. Irish
✓	Ferry Brigham	✓ 147	Frank L. George
✓	E. M. Ounon	✓ 148	F. H. Berry.
✓	Annie L. Silva	✓ 149	Mrs. Mary E. Perkins.
✓	J. B. Timmory.	✓ 150	Emma Cischel
✓	Mrs. J. B. Timmory	✓ 151	Mrs. C. A. Felt
✓	Edua K. Greene	✓ 152	Wm. M. Brigham
✓	Flornce Harrison	✓ 153	Emma Maddison.
✓	Annie Maddison.	✓ 154	Mrs. A. N. Cherry.
✓	Annie L. Farnsworth	✓ 155	Sam. Nicholls

07

Fig. 14. Articles of Incorporation, 1893. Marriott Library

Territory of Utah;
Co. of Salt Lake;

David Utter & Ernest M. Fowler, being
first duly sworn, each severally,
deposes and says:

That he was an officer of the election
held at mentioned in Art. VI. of the
foregoing agreement of incorporation,
that is to say, he, the said David
Utter was Pres. or Chairman, and he,
the said Ernest M. Fowler, was
Secretary of the said meeting and
condemned the said election
mentioned in Art. V. of the
foregoing agreement.

That the matters set out
and cited in foregoing articles,
are true according to affiant's
best knowledge & belief.

David Utter (S. G. S.)
Ernest M. Fowler (S. G. S.)

Subscribed & sworn before
me this 17th day of April, 1893.

Louis Hyams, Sgd.

Notary Public.

Wit by C. B. Varian and S. J. Lynn
and Eugene Lewis D.

Acknowledgment of filing of oath
by Clerk of Probate Court.

studied with no preconceived conclusions and as candidly as other writings are examined. Rev. Utter propounded that many New Testament books were really anonymous and composed much later than generally thought, particularly that Jude and II Peter “really deserve no better name than forgeries, except that in the age in which they were written, it was considered nothing out of the way to write a book for, and in the name of, some honored man who was dead.” Concerning the Old Testament, he argued that the Pentateuch could not have been written by Moses, pointing out the Elohist and Jehovist sections and mentioning the anachronism, in which King Og’s iron bedstead is “spoken of as a curiosity that had been long known and might still be seen in Rabbath of the children of Ammon.”²⁷

The next month the Mormon writer, Janne M. Sjö Dahl, published his response to Utter, arguing for the traditional authorship of the New Testament books and the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. But he admitted that certain explanatory interpolations and textual corruptions were made by later transcribers of the Bible and that the antilegomena (Hebrews, James, Jude, II Peter, II and III John, and Revelation) were the last books to be accepted into the canon.²⁸

Rev. Utter reminded his congregation that freedom in America meant that Christian orthodoxy was not enforced with a death penalty as it was in centuries past, and that among the slander, lies, and scorn directed against them, he had often heard the phrase, “No better than infidels.” The reply to that criticism which David Utter liked was: “Maybe so, for there are some infidels as good as some other folks.

²⁷ David Utter, “The Higher Criticism of the Bible,” *The Utah Monthly Magazine* 9 (August 1893): 441–51.

²⁸ Janne M. Sjö Dahl, “Who Wrote the Bible?” *The Utah Monthly Magazine* 9 (September 1893): 489–96.

And I'd rather go to any hell that would fit Robert Ingersoll than to any heaven that would fit John Calvin."²⁹

When B. Nagarkar of the Hindu sect known as Brahmo Somaj in Bombay, India, visited Salt Lake City for a week in 1894 to study Mormonism, he stayed at Utter's home. The Mormon First Presidency (Wilford Woodruff, George Q. Cannon, and Joseph F. Smith), six of the apostles, and others had a reception for him, and he was accompanied by Rev. Utter and his wife. Woodruff was shocked to find out that neither Nagarkar nor Utter "believed in the Bible or Jesus as the savior of the world or [in] the Resurrection."³⁰ Nagarkar delivered several lectures and the Unitarian society received \$51 for rental of the Salt Lake Theatre and \$25 for their part of the revenues from his lectures. On Sunday, 1 April 1894, Nagarkar and Utter attended Bishop Orson F. Whitney's sermon at the tabernacle. In this context Apostle Abraham H. Cannon described Utter as "a smooth and dangerous opponent of our Church."³¹

The Panic of 1893 was devastating to the young Unitarian society, with many of the early members returning to the East. Because of the financial straits that the Unitarian society was in, Utter found it necessary to supplement his income by taking a position in the fall of 1894 as principal of Sumner School, located at 626 South 300 East. The next month the Salt Lake Board of Education issued a ruling that precluded him from occupying both positions, so he resigned as Unitarian minister in October 1894. The minister's wife, Rebecca P. Utter, served as president of the Ladies Unitarian Society for the year from 1894 to 1895. The next school

²⁹ David Utter, *The Unitarian Faith* ([Denver]: n.d.), 12-13, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 2.

³⁰ Scott G. Kenney, ed., *Wilford Woodruff's Journal, 1833-1898* Typescript (Midvale, Utah: Signature Books, 1985), 9:295.

³¹ Cannon, *Diary*, 29 March and 1 April 1894, Ms 3.

year Utter taught at West High School. In 1896 the Utters moved to Denver, Colorado, where he became minister of the Unitarian church. Rev. Utter received an honorary D.D. from Harvard Divinity School in 1906.³²

Mr. Stanley M. Hunter, who was twenty-six years old, became the new minister of the Unitarian society early in November 1894. For financial reasons the Unitarians had to leave the Salt Lake Theatre and move their meetings to the Arcade Block at 44 South East Temple Street (now Main Street). The hall, which they rented from Dr. Joseph F. Richards, was called Unity Hall and was located above the Johnson-Pratt Drug Company. The society met at this location through December 1895. In December 1894 the Unitarians organized the Salt Lake City Unity Club, which met to discuss literature, science, and social studies. Records for the end of 1894 indicate that not only had the Salt Lake society received \$1,600 from the American Unitarian Association but they had also received contributions of \$100 from Arlington Street Church and \$50 each from the Church of the Unity and the First Parish Church of Dorchester.³³

After being minister less than eight months, Hunter resigned his pastorate, and in June 1895 moved to the West Coast. There he married Helen Rose Larson, who had been a member of the Unitarian society of Salt Lake City. In 1896 he received his B.D. from Tufts College of Medford, Massachusetts, and that same year he was ordained and began to serve as minister at Sheffield, Illinois. Rev. Hunter was

³² Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 57, 60, 62, 65, 70, 74, confer an anachronistic doctorate on Utter, since his honorary D.D. was not given until 1906. Also, the reference at Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 14, to Utter's S.T.D. degree should be the S.T.B. degree, which he received in 1871.

³³ Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.

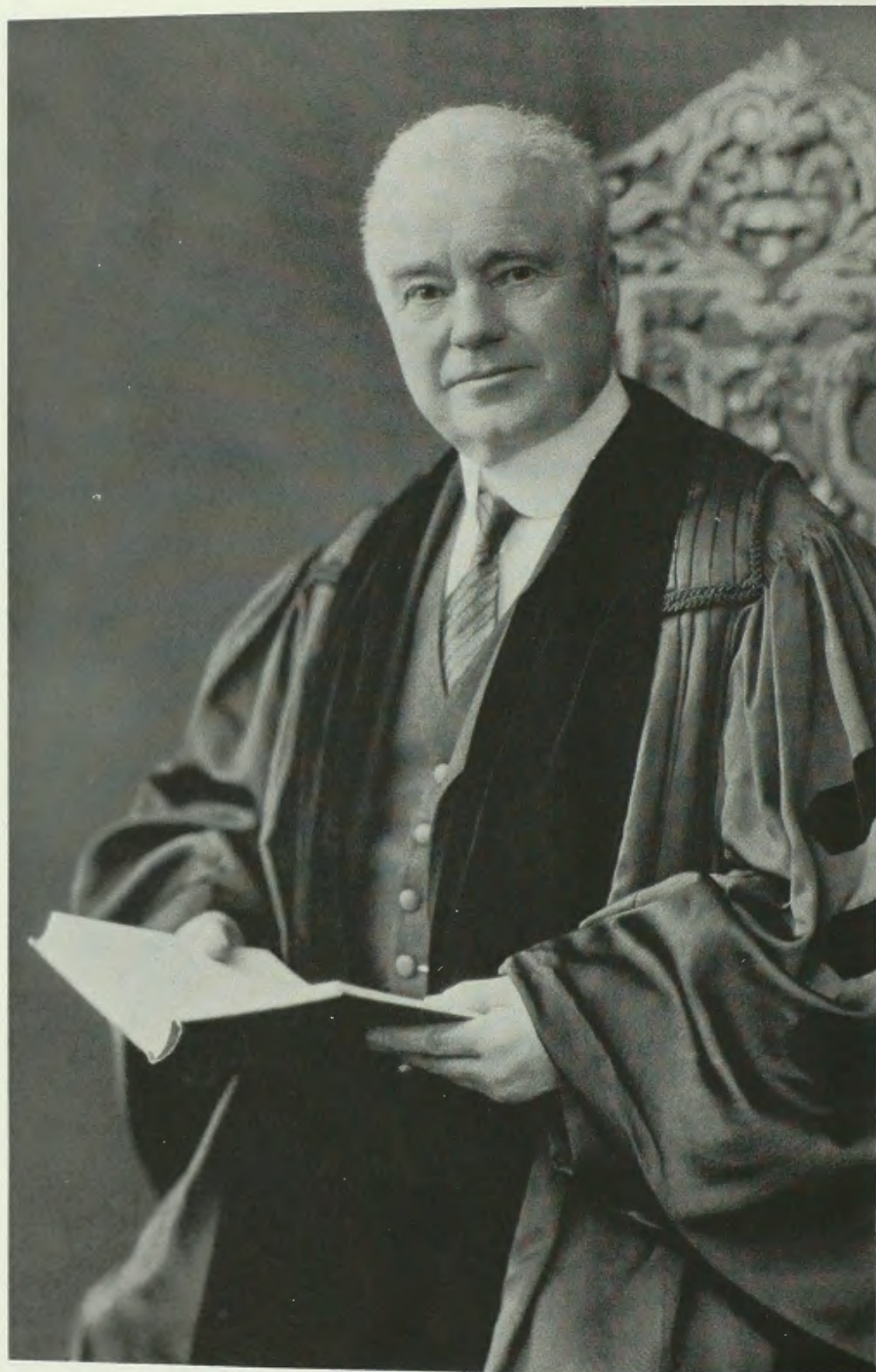


minister at St. John, New Brunswick, Canada, from 1898 to 1901, and at Scituate, Massachusetts, from 1901 to 1904.

Rev. Adelbert L. Hudson was the next minister. For seventeen years previous to coming to Salt Lake City, he had been a lawyer in Sioux City, Iowa. He began his ministry on 1 September 1895, at an annual salary of \$1,800, with



Fig. 17. Richards Arcade Block, 44 South East Temple. LDS Church Archives



the American Unitarian Association paying forty-four percent of his wages. When he arrived the membership was 217.³⁴

The Salt Lake City Unitarian society was Rev. Hudson's first church, so he was both ordained and installed on 10 November 1895. It was an impressive ceremony and seated on the stand with Hudson were Rev. Trowbridge B. Forbush of Chicago, Rev. David Utter of Denver, Nat M. Brigham, and Rev. Clarence T. Brown of the First Congregational Church. Rev. Forbush's charge to the new minister touched on four points. Concerning Hudson's body, he charged Hudson to remember that "his power for good depends upon the steam engine being kept in good working order." Concerning Hudson's intellect, he cautioned him to keep his "mind keenly alive to the developing thought of the time." Concerning Hudson's life, he reminded Hudson that "the word that is spoken through the daily life of the minister, as it comes into contact with other lives, is the word which remains when all his pulpit utterances are forgotten." Concerning Hudson's doctrine, he warned him to "let your message be touched with the divine fire of a deep and earnest purpose."³⁵

In order to help defray some of their expenses, in December 1895 the Unitarians sublet the hall to the Spiritualist Society on Sunday evenings and some Friday evenings. This arrangement continued through at least 1897.

At the annual congregational business meeting on 19 January 1896, Nat M. Brigham reported that the average attendance for the Sunday morning services was 250 to 300, with thirty-six new members since last October, and the

³⁴ The Salt Lake Tribune, 13 December 1897, 8.

³⁵ The Salt Lake Tribune, 11 November 1895, 5, a transcript of which is located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 4.



Sunday School increasing to almost 100.³⁶ Rev. Hudson spoke about the present state of the society and the success he envisioned in the future. The next week Rev. Hudson told the trustees that he had sent letters to eleven friends and churches in the East, soliciting funds to pay debts incurred in “fitting up” their new meeting place.³⁷ From January 1896 until December 1898 the Unitarians met in Denhalter’s Hall, located at 28–30 West 300 South, which they also named Unity Hall, as they had their meeting place at 44 South East Temple Street.

In June 1896, at a board of trustees meeting, a letter from George W. Snow was read in which he tendered his resignation from the board and as a member of the society, explaining that “in justice to myself permit me to say that I am not a Unitarian and never have been.” Snow had joined the society in January of that year and had been made a member of the board the same month. Though he claims that “the position was forced upon me,” there was no dissenting vote at the time of his election to the board. At this same meeting Rev. Hudson asked for a seventeen percent raise, and after full discussion, he was granted the requested annual salary of \$2,100, with a guarantee from the national association to pay twenty-nine percent of his wages.³⁸

In November 1896 Rev. Hudson married the widow, Margaret Benson, whose husband, Wendell Benson, had died two years previously. The marriage was performed by the local Congregational minister, Clarence T. Brown. Since Margaret Benson Hudson was paid for work on the five-year

³⁶ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 19 January 1896, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 2.

³⁷ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 26 January 1896, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 2.

³⁸ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 21 June 1896, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 2.

"History of Unitarianism in Utah" and was the only one given thanks for this effort, it appears she was the person responsible for writing it, though no copy of the pamphlet is extant.³⁹ Her first husband was one of the charter members of the society, and she was an early signer of the constitution. Prior to her marriage to Rev. Hudson, Margaret Benson was appointed the society's first historian at the annual congregational meeting in January 1892, thus making her an ideal person to describe what had happened in Unitarianism since its beginning in 1891 through 1896.

A. Theodore Schroeder, one of the original charter members as well as a member of the first board of trustees, delivered a Sunday sermon at Unity Hall in February 1897. In this sermon, which he entitled "Thoughts Suggested by a Study of Mormonism," Schroeder expressed his view that the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, had the revelation on polygamy only after "he had been caught in adultery by an angry wife."⁴⁰ He finished the sermon with the following:

When [Robert] Ingersoll and [Thomas] Paine robbed me of my superstitions, I lost only the value of a counterfeit dollar, and I am grateful to the robber because he also led me out of the murky mists of ancestral superstitions unto the sunny fields of free thought. . . . There is some good in all religions. Let us cling to and magnify that, though we discard the fancied idols of visionary prophets and the celestial hobgoblins of our half-civilized ancestors.⁴¹

³⁹ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 12 December 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.

⁴⁰ Anne Coughlin, "A Unique Heathen: The Sexual Dogmatics of Theodore Schroeder," (Ph.D. dissertation, Fuller Theological Seminary, 1986), 6. Linda King Newell and Valeen Tippetts Avery, *Mormon Enigma: Emma Hale Smith* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1984), 66, quote Oliver Cowdery's description of Joseph Smith's 1835 relationship with Fanny Alger as "a dirty, nasty, filthy affair."

⁴¹ A. Theodore Schroeder, *Mormonism Considered, Being a Lecture Delivered at Unity Hall, Salt Lake City, Utah, March 1897* [Salt Lake City, 1897], 31, located in Ms 508, Bx 73, Fd 7.

In an effort to increase the revenues of the society, a meeting was called in March 1897 to get a report about those regularly attending the church services but not contributing financially. Rev. Hudson read a list of these non-contributing individuals to the board, and it was decided to visit them.⁴²

The annual congregational meeting was held on 13 June 1897. When the committee of three, who were to select the board members for the coming year, returned with their nominations, Nat M. Brigham was not included. After the election of the nine trustees, Brigham vacated the chair and Henry W. Lawrence presided over the rest of the meeting.⁴³ This was the first time that Nat Brigham was not president of the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, and he was no longer even a member of the board. After being president for over six years, it must have been quite a considerable change for him to be merely an ordinary member.

Charles L. Baum, a sales agent for the Laramie Rolling Mill Company, joined the Unitarian society in November 1896, was made a board member the next month, and was elected in July 1897 as president for the ensuing church year.⁴⁴ A special meeting of the board of trustees in July 1897 was called to secure the lease on the building and to arrange for Rev. Hudson's salary for the coming year. After he was requested to state his financial requirements, Hudson asked for \$2,400 per year, and reminded them that \$1,100 was still due to him on last year's salary. The trustees agreed and

⁴² Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 5 March 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.

⁴³ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 13 June 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4. Technically, this 13 June 1897 meeting is the second "annual" meeting in 1897. The reason for this is because at the annual meeting on 17 January 1897 (which had been adjourned from 11 January 1897) section six of the constitution was changed to read "the Annual Meeting of this Society shall be held on the second Sunday of June in each year." See Congregational Meeting Minutes, 17 January 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 3.

⁴⁴ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 19 July 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.



Fig. 20. Rezin A Maynard. 1897 to 1899. Marriott Library

hoped by year-end to increase his annual salary to \$3,000.⁴⁵

With the approval and financial support of the society, in mid-September 1897 Rev. Hudson went to Saratoga, New York, to attend the annual convention of the American Unitarian Association. During this time he must have talked with leaders from various congregations, because Hudson received an offer from the large Unitarian church at Buffalo, New York, to become their minister.

The board of trustees meeting on 8 December 1897 was

⁴⁵ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 30 July 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.



Fig. 21. Mila T. Maynard, 1897 to 1899. Marriott Library

unusual in several respects. The president, Charles L. Baum, was absent, so Henry W. Lawrence presided. The first matter of business was the reinstatement of Nat M. Brigham to the board of trustees, filling the vacancy caused by the earlier resignation of Joseph M. Marriott. At the same meeting Rev. Hudson tendered his resignation as minister of the society, and this was accepted by the board, with a committee consisting of Nat M. Bingham and the secretary being appointed to draw up resolutions of regret.⁴⁶ Nat Maynard

⁴⁶ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 9 December 1897, 8.

Brigham then suggested a ministerial call be extended to two others with the name of Maynard (Mr. Rezin A. Maynard and the Rev. Mila T. Maynard), though it is not known for certain that Brigham's middle name indicates any kinship with them. The board of trustees authorized Brigham to send a telegram indicating that Mr. Maynard had been called to be their minister for one year.⁴⁷ The fact that Nat Brigham suggested the Maynards as the new joint ministers and that the board accepted this suggestion the very day that Brigham was restored to the board of trustees illustrates both his prestige as former president of the society and his previous knowledge concerning the Maynards and their desire for a pastorate. They accepted the call the next day.

After Rev. Hudson left Salt Lake City later in the month, he became the minister at the Unitarian church, then known as the Church of Our Father, in Buffalo, New York. He later served as minister in many other Unitarian and Universalist churches in the East. In 1905 he received an S.T.B. degree from Harvard Divinity School. At the time of his death at eighty-five years of age in April 1938, Adelbert L. Hudson was the pastor of the Dorchester Unitarian Church in Boston and was the oldest active Unitarian clergyman in the United States.⁴⁸

For nearly two years the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City had — for the only time in its history — a husband and wife ministerial team. Rezin A. Maynard received his law degree in 1880 from the University of Michigan and for thirteen years was an attorney with an established law practice in Sparta and Grand Rapids, Michigan. In 1893 he entered

⁴⁷ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 8 December 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.

⁴⁸ *The Deseret News*, 16 April 1938, 14.

the ministry without any formal seminary or theological training, being ordained to the independent ministry by a non-sectarian People's church in Reno, Nevada. When he taught in Unitarian churches it was always with the congregation being told that he himself was not a Unitarian.⁴⁹ Mila Tupper received a B.Litt. degree from Cornell University in 1889. The same year she was ordained and installed at the First Unitarian Church at LaPorte, Indiana, where she remained as minister for two years. She then moved to Grand Rapids, Michigan, and was the Unitarian minister there until 1893. She married Rezin A. Maynard in 1893 and moved to Reno, staying for three years. They then moved to Santa Monica, California, where they were joint ministers at the Unitarian church from 1896 to 1897.

The Maynards came to Salt Lake City in December 1897, and the twelve-month contract for them both was set at \$1,800, the minutes being amended to indicate that they both were called as ministers of the Unitarian society, not just Rezin A. Maynard.⁵⁰ The membership at the beginning of their ministry was 324.⁵¹ Their's was a joint ministry, in which neither was the senior minister. The Maynards alternated in the preaching of Sunday sermons. Unity Club had two sections which met on two evenings of the week; Monday evening Rev. R. A. Maynard lead a Shakespeare class and Thursday both the Maynards conducted a class in Evolution. They also jointly edited *The Unitarian*, a local weekly newsletter of the society, only two issues of which have survived. The earlier of the two, which is dated 2 April

⁴⁹ *The Denver Times*, 5 November 1899, 7.

⁵⁰ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 29 December 1897, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Fd 4.

⁵¹ *The Salt Lake Herald*, 13 December 1897, 8.

The Unitarian.

VOL. I.

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH, APRIL 2, 1898.

No. 3.

"CROWNING THE LITTLE"

This was the subject of the sermon last Sunday morning; Text, the parable of the "Widow's Mite," which George MacDonald has put into verse:

"Stately, long-robed, and stepping at ease,
The rich men went up the temple hall;
Hasty, and gripping her two haubees,
The widow came after, bowed and small."

"Their gold rang loud, as it fell and lay
Yellow and glinting, bonnie and braw!
But the folk round the Master heard him say,
The poor body's haubee was more nor it all."

Jesus, throughout his ministry ever sought to emphasize the fact that true greatness, while it must be manifested in outward action—in service, yet not the greatness of the act itself nor the results attained, determines its true worth, but the motive which prompts its performance.

"As the meaning of a gift lies in the attitude of the giver, so the meaning of an action lies in the attitude of the doer."

As no one truly gives unless he gives himself with his gift, so no great or noble action can ever be performed unless done from a warm and generous impulse springing from a pure and holy motive.

"The gift without the giver is vain,
Who gives himself, with his alms feeds three,
Himself, his hungry brother, and me."

Nothing can be of benefit to us as individuals—no outward act performed can benefit us, unless it be the outward manifestation of an inward quality of heart and soul.

It must make for righteousness, for character, in the real man—in the inner life to be of value.

To produce character growth, ours must be full, free, spontaneous action, flowing from a warm and loving heart.

The widow in the text found her blessedness because the law governing her nature was so framed. Jesus commended her because he understood that human nature is endowed with certain inherent qualities, which are its essence, and that it is only when these qualities are growing and expanding within it there can be harmony.

The Kingdom of Heaven is within us, and the law of its fulfillment is loving, loyal obedience to the divinity; not without us, but within us, whose commands are written upon the tablets of our hearts.

As Herbert Spencer has said: "The wise man then will regard the faith which is in him; the highest truth he sees, he will fearlessly utter, knowing that let what may come of it, he is thus playing his right part in the world."

We must be satisfied only with the conscious commendation of our own souls—not the mere applause and appreciation

of friends—not the mere moving along conventional lives—not with merely doing what is expected of us—unless in all our doing we possess a conscious knowledge of having been absolutely true and faithful to the truth revealed to our own souls. For, as Mr. Spencer has said: "It is not for nothing that it has been revealed unto us."

"He thyself a nobler gospel pre'er was preached by tongue or pen."

God is just as truly the God of the Common as of the Uncommon. Divinity is just as certainly in the small daisy which blooms at our feet as in the great sun which is the centre of the universe.

"Flower in the crown'd wall,
I pluck you out of the rannies;
Hold you here, root and all, in my hand,
Little flower, if I could understand
What you are, root and all, and all in all,
I should know what God and man is."

We cannot understand the flower, "root and all, and all in all." We cannot know "what God and man is," all in all. We can know as much of the real life of the whole as we can of the most infinitesimal part of the universe. We can have but a relative knowledge of anything. But there are things which are real—which we can know. We can understand the facts of our own consciousness—our own inner experiences. These are facts, facts indisputable, which no demonstration can make clearer or more real. We can understand the power of love in our human hearts and lives. We can understand that everything which makes life dear to us, which makes it worth living, springs from the motive of love within the heart. And so we can know that the highest, the most absolute expression of the all-pervading divine Unity, which we call God, must in His nature be the same as the highest quality of our nature, but in degree infinitely beyond the limit of our minds to conceive or comprehend. And so, wherever in nature or in the field of human activity, whether among the common, simple things—whether it greets our eyes as an act of one of the common people, one of the humble souls of earth—whether the doer of the act has the place which he calls home in a mansion or in a hovel, in a palace or a hut, the great act is the one which springs from pure, disinterested self-sacrificing love—the Christ-spirit within the human heart. "She hath done what she could." This is the measure of value of all human action. This is the supreme test of life and character. This is the quality of human living which lifts us higher and ever higher in the scale of true manhood and womanhood—makes us more Christ-like, and brings us

"Nearer my God to Thee,
Nearer to Thee."

1898, contains a statement answering the question, "What is Unitarianism?" in which they say the following:

Unitarians assert that to hold four things supreme makes one liberal in religion. (1) Freedom of Reason and Freedom of Conscience the Method in Religion, instead of Tradition and Authority. (2) Fellowship the Spirit in Religion, instead of Sectarianism. (3) Service the Aim in Religion, instead of Salvation for Self. (4) Character the Test in Religion, instead of Ritual or Creed.⁵²

The next month the Maynards published an article in the Mormon-owned *Improvement Era* in which they reiterated these four essential Unitarian principles, but in the third added "love" along with "service" as the aim of religion and in the fourth substituted "moral purpose" for "character." In the same article they emphasize that each person has complete freedom with respect to matters of belief and that Unitarianism "seeks to give an organic form to the growing, ripening thought of each generation in its relation to human aspiration and endeavor."⁵³

In order to reduce their running expenses, the Unitarians dispensed with their paid choir and began meeting in the B'nai Israel Synagogue located at 249 South 400 East from December 1898 until September 1899. R. A. Maynard described his work in Salt Lake City as the preaching of the "industrial gospel." He was genuinely excited about the "social opportunity of the pulpit," but his efforts brought forth a discouraging reaction.⁵⁴

⁵² Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 1.

⁵³ Rezin A. Maynard and Mila Tupper Maynard, "The Principles and Polity of the Unitarian Church," *The Improvement Era* 1 (May 1898): 501-508.

⁵⁴ Rezin A. Maynard, "How I Became a Socialist," *The Comrade* 2 (September 1903): 276.



While documents do not exist to give a complete picture of what was happening in the Unitarian society, available information indicates that Nat Maynard Brigham had recently moved to the East and there was a faction within the board of trustees who conspired against the Maynards, whom Brigham had arranged to become joint pastors in Salt Lake City. Minutes in the society's old record books preserved valuable information on a most unusual meeting. At the special congregational meeting on Tuesday, 7 March 1899, the president of the board, Charles L. Baum, called the meeting to order, and Dr. Henry A. Whitney offered the following constitutional amendment: "The church year of the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, Utah, shall begin on the first Tuesday of March, 1899, and that the annual meeting of said society shall be held in conformity therewith." The new church year thus began that very day and, consequently, the annual meeting was to be held that day. Since a trustee was voted to serve for the duration of a church year and a new year had begun that day, the office of trustee had just become vacant. To make this official, Whitney moved that the church offices be declared vacant, and this was seconded and carried. The previous board of trustees was in this fashion completely abolished. The unique nature of this meeting and the unusual phraseology of the minutes require the quotation of the exact words on how the new board of trustees was elected:

Upon motion of Dr. Whitney, duly made, seconded, and carried, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. C. L. Baum as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mr. [Allen] Sanford, [the] secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. L. H. Farnsworth for trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mrs. [Lillie] Clark, the secretary was

instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. H. W. Lawrence as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mr. Farnsworth, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Dr. H. A. Whitney as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mrs. J. F. Cowan, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Eugene Lewis as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mr. Geo. B. Greenwood, the secretary was instructed to cast the entire vote of the meeting for Mr. L. F. Zulick as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mr. Wm. Jennings, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. Lloyd S. Porter as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Mr. L. H. Farnsworth, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. W. C. Jennings as trustee.

Upon similar motion by Dr. H. A. Whitney, the secretary was instructed to cast the vote of the entire meeting for Mr. J. M. Marriott as trustee.

Upon the secretary's casting the vote of the entire meeting as per these instructions, the president declared the Board of Trustees for the ensuing year elected as follows: C. L. Baum, L. H. Farnsworth, H. W. Lawrence, Dr. H. A. Whitney, Eugene Lewis, L. F. Zulick, Lloyd S. Porter, W. C. Jennings, and J. M. Marriott.⁵⁵

This election was not conducted by vocal acclamation, hand vote, or secret ballot, but by the secretary, George B. Greenwood, being instructed on exactly how to vote in behalf of the entire congregation in attendance. What was the reason for this unprecedented manner of dismissing the old board and electing a new one? One other item mentioned in these minutes hints at the purpose behind this procedure. The motion was made, seconded, and carried that "the matter of calling ministers for the future be left to the new Board

⁵⁵ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 7 March 1899, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 223.

of Trustees,” and the board was also instructed to take care of this as soon as possible.

Their swift action can be seen in the meeting of the new board three days later. First, there was the election of officers within the board. After the unanimous election of Baum as president, Whitney nominated Farnsworth for vice president and Farnsworth nominated Whitney for the same, but both adamantly refused to accept the position if elected. So Whitney nominated Lawrence, who was unanimously elected as vice president. The only real matter of business was to enter into a contract with the Maynards, that their services as ministers would terminate at the end of 1899 and that their salary would be only \$1,000 per year—a cut of forty-four percent in their wages.⁵⁶

Before the Maynards came to Salt Lake City, the American Unitarian Association had been subsidizing the local society at the annual rate of \$600, but this assistance was discontinued when the Maynards came. The society saw a declining congregation and falling off of enthusiasm for the Unitarian cause. On 2 September 1899 the Maynards resigned their joint pastorate at Salt Lake City. The president of the board of trustees, Charles L. Baum, announced at a board meeting the startling decision that the society would discontinue services and make no effort to call a new minister.⁵⁷

The reason for the collapse of Unitarianism in Utah after the Maynards left is provided by local newspapers at the time. At first, it was simply reported that their resignations were due to “the depleted condition of the society’s treasury.”⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 10 March 1899, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 225.

⁵⁷ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 6 September 1899, 8.

⁵⁸ *The Deseret Evening News*, 6 September 1899, 8.

However, on 7 September 1899 the story broke in the Salt Lake Tribune that the reason that the national headquarters had withdrawn their financial support for the Maynards was due to a scandal concerning their marriage in 1893. The story was that in the Michigan Unitarian church where the twenty-nine-year-old Mila Tupper was a brilliant young pastor, the forty-year-old Rezin A. Maynard was a trustee of the church and a respected member of the bar. In an article entitled "Romance of Maynard" it was reported:

It is said that his [Rezin Maynard's] home life was not a happy one, and that in trying to mend matters in the trustee's home the fair young pastor [Mila Tupper] won the heart of the unhappy trustee. The attachment was a mutual one, the trustee obtained a divorce from his wife, gave up his home and family and in a few short weeks married the young woman who had filled the place of pastor in the church of which he was a trustee.⁵⁹

This was too much for the local Michigan congregation and she was asked to resign and was later disfellowshipped from the American Unitarian Association. In later referring to hiring a minister who was not recognized by the national organization, Samuel A. Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association, was apparently referring to the Salt Lake City society having called the Maynards as ministers without authorization. Eliot said they "had sad experience with just this kind of business and it must not be repeated."⁶⁰ Because of the bad publicity by this September 1899 announcement, there was no service the following Sunday in Salt Lake City and the Maynards never again preached there.

⁵⁹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 7 September 1899, 8. The main points of the Maynard scandal and the collapse of the Unitarian society were known to Irma Hance and Virginia Picht, but they chose not to discuss any of it in Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 73-74.

⁶⁰ Samuel A. Eliot, Letter to Mr. [Jay F.] Sturgis, 13 December 1902, located in Ms 508, Bx 7, Fd 1.

A significant board meeting was held on 19 September 1899, with a quorum of five members present. During this meeting they formally accepted the resignation of the Maynards, which had been tendered over two weeks earlier, accepted the resignation of board member, William C. Jennings, who was going East in order to attend school, and then adjourned *sine die*.⁶¹ The women of Unity Circle met the next day, and the minutes show that they planned a reception for the Maynards on Friday evening, 22 September 1899, at the home of Martha J. Watson, the president of Unity Circle.⁶² The Maynards left later that month for Denver to join the Broadway Temple Association, otherwise known as the Myron Reed Movement, which was an independent church not bound to any creed, but espousing as their fundamental principle “the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.” Within a year this movement fizzled into oblivion, but to their credit the Maynards went on to succeed in other fields.

Following the departure of the Maynards from Salt Lake City, there were no business meetings, no elections of officers, and no social activities for one and a half years. Though Baum is known to have lived in the city for another year before moving to San Francisco, there is no record of any board of trustee meetings or activities. For all intents and purposes the Unitarian society had ceased to exist. However, the dissolution of the church was not quite complete, because on 26 August 1900 Rev. David Utter, who nine years earlier had been Salt Lake’s first Unitarian minister, returned to

⁶¹ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 19 September 1899, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 227.

⁶² The Unity Circle Minute Book indicates that the women adjourned planning to meet again on the 27 September 1899. However, the next page in the completely-intact minute book skips to 29 May 1901. See Ms 508, Bx 74, Fd 3.

preach in the Salt Lake Theatre. At the end of his sermon he bemoaned "the mistakes and mismanagement" which caused the "apparent present downfall," and urged the revival of Unitarianism.⁶³ The last year of the nineteenth century saw no further action in regard to the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City.

II

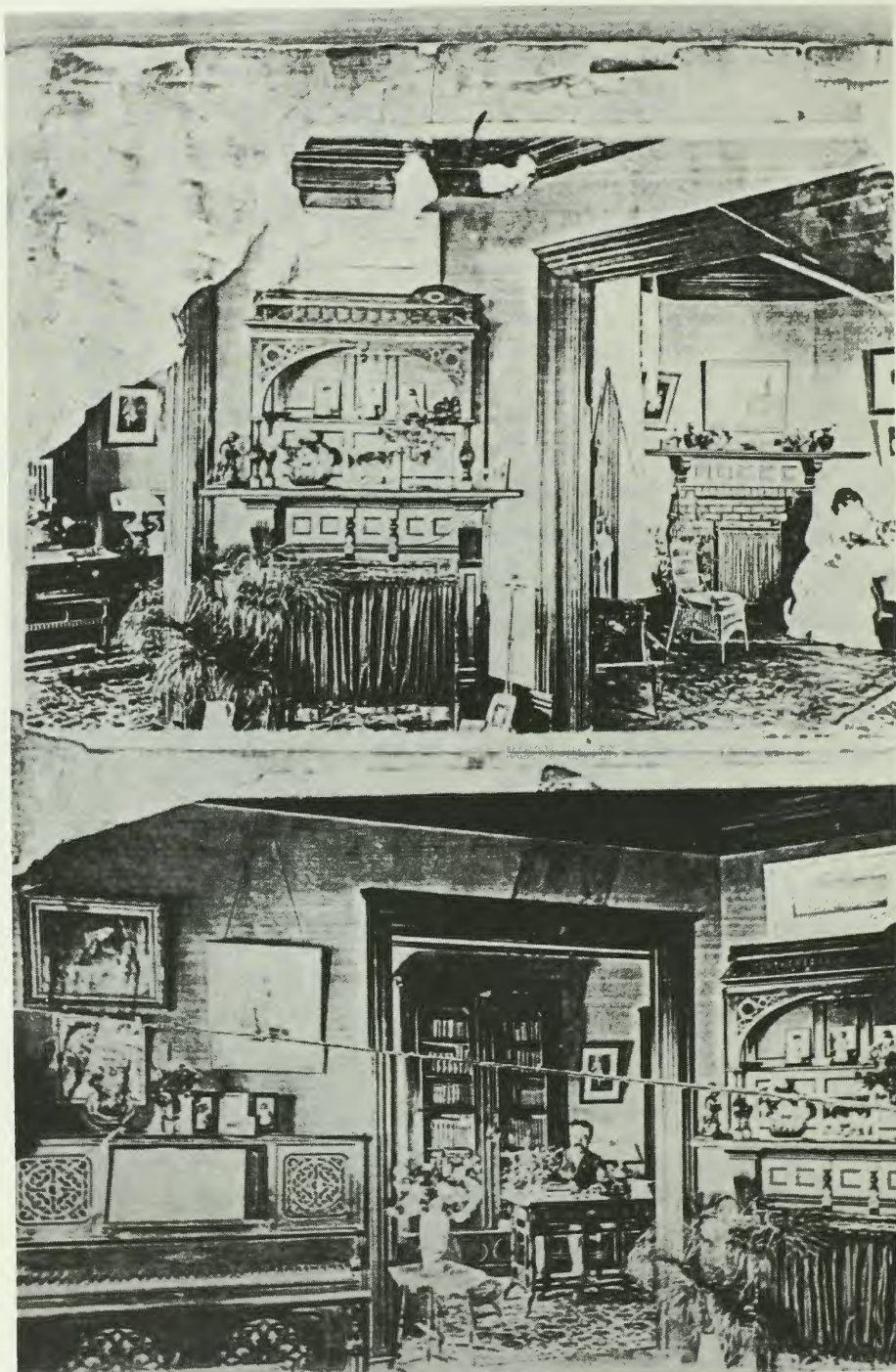
The Reorganization of Unitarianism and the Building of Unity Hall 1901–1920

EARLY IN FEBRUARY 1901 Rev. Philip S. Thacher was sent by the American Unitarian Association to investigate the feasibility of reorganizing the defunct First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City. Rev. Thacher was chosen for this task because of his previous experience in working with Unitarian groups of different sizes and strengths and for his persuasive personality. His grandson described him as being “endowed with outstanding leadership qualities and the ability to immediately undertake and complete huge projects with the complete backing of his flock.”¹

On 17 February 1901 Rev. Thacher spoke on “The Demands of the Age on the Church,” emphasizing the necessity of freedom of thought in all religious matters. In his sermon he said that some people “use the church like pepper and salt, to keep their souls from spoiling until they get to heaven.” He told the audience that for twenty-six years he had studied “the teachings of Universalism and found them good; they ennoble the character, comfort sorrows, kill hate with love, [and] subdue wrong by right.”²

¹ Philip Storer Thacher, Jr., “Concerning Reverend Philip Slaney Thacher, 1852–1926,” Philip S. Thacher Collection, Accession 1094, Bx 1, Fd 1, located in Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City. Hereinafter abbreviated to Accession 1094.

² *The Salt Lake Herald*, 18 February 1901, 5.



The next Sunday Rev. Thacher preached on "A Practical Religion," and afterward there was a special meeting of about a hundred former Unitarian members to determine if they wanted a "reestablishment of a liberal church" in Salt Lake City. The vote was unanimous and a canvass committee was selected to obtain financial contributions in order to get the Unitarian society back on its feet, as well as to pay off the 1899 debt of \$800 which was still owed.³ Part of this previous debt was an outstanding bill for \$90 still due to the widow of the janitor, George Tyler, who had died in November 1898.⁴ The committee continued for the next few weeks to solicit subscriptions, but the amount of local support necessary to hire a minister had not been reached by 17 March 1901.⁵

Rev. Thacher spoke again on 24 March 1901 on the topic of "The Religion of the Future," and afterward he told the congregation that "a gentleman had pledged himself to see that a Unitarian church would be erected in Salt Lake City within two years."⁶ This news and the funds already committed ensured the reorganization of the society. Rev. Thacher then left to go to Los Angeles, with a promise to return in two weeks for Easter.

Rev. Philip S. Thacher's Easter sermon on 7 April 1901, delivered in the Salt Lake Theatre, was enthusiastically received. After delivering the sermon, he left to return to his church in Needham, Massachusetts. Following the morning services there was a business meeting, with Henry W.

³ The Salt Lake Tribune, 25 February 1901, 5.

⁴ Mrs. G[race] N. Tyler, Letter to Rev. P. S. Thacher, 28 May 1901, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 6. This debt was finally paid in December 1904, according to Unity Circle Minute Book, 21 December 1904, located in Ms 508, Bx 73, Fd 3.

⁵ The Salt Lake Herald, 18 March 1901, 8.

⁶ The Deseret Evening News, 25 March 1901, 8.

Lawrence as acting president. After a lengthy discussion it was decided that "the work of the Society be resumed and a Minister called." Upon deciding there would be sufficient money to carry the society through the next year, there was a unanimous vote from the 300 people present to call Rev. Thacher as their minister.⁷ His salary was to be \$3,000 per year, with \$1,000 coming from the American Unitarian Association.⁸ The Unitarian society was formally reorganized on 21 April 1901. Henry A. Whitney, newly chosen president of the board of trustees for 1901, optimistically promised that if the Unitarians would do what they should, "in two years the Unitarian society would be the strongest organization in the city, outside the dominant [Mormon] church."⁹ Rev. David Utter agreed to take the Sunday services for three weeks, while a replacement minister from the American Unitarian Association took his pulpit in Denver, in order to give Thacher time to move from Massachusetts. For one of his sermons Rev. Utter had an audience of 650 people. The Unitarians continued to meet in the Salt Lake Theatre through August 1902. The women's organization, Unity Circle, was reestablished on 29 May 1901 when twenty ladies met at the home of the former president, Martha J. Watson, "to reorganize the Unity Circle, which has been a thing of the past — for almost two years."¹⁰ Watson took charge of the meeting, but declined to be named as the new president. Estelle G. Cowan was nominated and unanimously elected as the president, and eighteen of those present indicated they wanted to join Unity Circle.

⁷ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 7 April 1901, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 293.

⁸ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 8 April 1901, 8.

⁹ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 22 April 1901, 8.

¹⁰ Ms 508, Bx 74, Fd 3.

The new minister Rev. Philip S. Thacher is listed in 1878 as a certified undergraduate of Meadville Theological Seminary, then located in Pennsylvania. Before coming to Salt Lake City he had been a Unitarian minister in Augusta, Maine (where he also served as chaplain of the National Soldiers Home at Togus, Maine), Santa Barbara, California (where he also founded the Santa Barbara Cottage Hospital), Fresno, California (where he helped organize a Unitarian society), and Needham, Massachusetts (where he served for seven years). He was an active member of the Freemasons, the Elks, and other fraternal orders.

Rev. Thacher with his wife, Alice, moved to Salt Lake City in May 1901. He not only began as minister to the newly organized Unitarian society but also served as state secretary of the American Unitarian Association for Utah. Rev. Thacher's efforts were successful enough that the Unitarians were "becoming favorably known once more."¹¹ After becoming better acquainted with the religious climate in Utah, he reported (with some exaggeration in the statistics) the following to national headquarters:

The Mormons are very different from the popular conception. Their faults have been exaggerated, their virtues overlooked. . . . Submission to church authority is insisted upon; but many have leaped over the barriers to find a congenial home with us. The apostate Mormon has a respect for us which he will extend to no other church. All the orthodox churches combined throughout the State have not made two hundred converts from Mormonism in twenty years. More than twice that number actively sympathize with us, clearly proving that the old faiths cannot interest those who outgrow Mormonism, and that Unitarianism can. . . .

It is my conviction that ours is the only form of religion that can exert a deep, widespread, and permanent influence for the

¹¹ Accession 1094, Bx 1, Fd 5.

mental, moral, and spiritual elevation of Utah. We have only to prove worthy of our glorious privilege and sacred opportunity.¹²

In a sermon entitled "Success; or, the Race of Life, and How to Win It" on 2 February 1902, Rev. Thacher exhorted the congregation: "Do not take the ipse dixit of any church, creed, or book. Follow your own reason and conscience." He ended by saying: "The greatest prizes [in life] are good health, the approval of our own conscience, the affection and esteem of our fellows, a sufficiency for all the essentials of life, and the smile of God."¹³

In a strong sermon on "Agnosticism," which he delivered on 20 April 1902, Rev. Thacher said the following:

If we cannot know just what God is, we can now believe that he is not what the church has said he was. He is not a selfish egotist, creating man for his glory and then damning him to gratify his caprice. We are no longer mere kindling wood for the everlasting bonfire. When we bend over the still faces of those we have clasped in our arms, we need no longer fear that they are longing for our teardrops to cool the burning of their flames. Our God would not make a hell big enough to hold a fly, or erect before heaven a barrier that would shut out a bird.¹⁴

On 7 September 1902 Rev. Thacher preached his first sermon at the Independent Order of Odd Fellows Hall, located on Market Street, now known as Post Office Place. The Unitarians met in the I.O.O.F. Hall until mid-November 1903.

A series of four front-page articles, called "Some Errors of a Local Unitarian," were anonymously published from 4 to 25 October 1902 in *The Intermountain Catholic*, which is a weekly newspaper published in Salt Lake City, Denver, and Butte,

¹² Accession 1094, Bx 1, Fd 5.

¹³ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 February 1902, 5.

¹⁴ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 April 1902, 6.



Fig. 25. I.O.O.F. Hall, 41 West Market Street. Utah State Historical Society

and covering the areas of Utah, Idaho, Nevada, Colorado, Wyoming, and Montana. The Catholic writer, who did not personally attend any Unitarian meetings, responded to the printed newspaper reports of Thacher's sermons and his liberal theological positions on such doctrines as the original sin, the incarnation, the divinity of Christ, and the Blessed Trinity. Objecting to Thacher's statement that Jesus was not perfect, the Catholic author called Thacher's views "the foulest blasphemy" and asserted that "Jesus Christ is God Incarnate, perfect God and perfect man." Furthermore, the writer felt that Thacher was unfair to depict only Jesus'

humanity, and reject all scriptural references to his divinity.¹⁵ In another article the Catholic apologist quoted Thacher's view that "this tender, loving man [Jesus] has been lifted on a flaming throne, and turned into a cruel and inexorable judge, who hurls thunderbolts of wrath at his enemies, and imprisons them in everlasting torture" and referred to errors in Calvinistic theology which are inherent in this depiction. He further stated the need to accept "the great mysteries of faith" as understood by Catholic tradition and scriptural interpretation.¹⁶

On 2 November 1902, Rev. Thacher's Sunday sermon consisted of a point by point rebuttal to these Catholic articles. After proclaiming that the stories of Jesus' birth are without any historical basis, Rev. Thacher continued:

There are hundreds of passages in the New Testament which show that Christ was inferior to God. In one place he says "My Father is greater than I" [John 14:28]. Christ was not God, because he did not have the attributes of God. He was not omnipotent, because he admitted that there were things he could not do; he was not omniscient, because he said he knew not the day and the hour of his coming; he was not eternal, because he was born of woman, reared in a cradle and grew to manhood. As he grew to manhood he grew in the favor of God and man; and all growth implies imperfection. What we need for our model is a type of human, not superhuman, excellence; we need an example of what man, not God, can accomplish.¹⁷

Rev. Thacher's acute bronchitis caused him to tender his resignation in November 1902, but he agreed to continue until a replacement was found. In his published Christmas message for 1902, Rev. Thacher wrote:

¹⁵ *The Intermountain Catholic*, 18 October 1902, 1.

¹⁶ *The Intermountain Catholic*, 25 October 1902, 1.

¹⁷ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 November 1902, 5.

Reorganization and First Building: 1901-1920

Nobody knows when or where Jesus was born. But we have been accustomed to associate the 25th of December with the manger in the stable at Bethlehem, where legend says the newborn boy was laid. We need not fear that Jesus will be revered any the less by believing what the New Testament teaches, that he was the son of Joseph and Mary, for that does not make him any the less the son of God. Whoever thinks that God in person lived the human life in the villages of Galilee, has a faith worthy of the Lyconian peasants, who took Barnabas for Jupiter, and Paul for Mercury! . . .

Let us say, Jesus was a man, in the spirit and thought that shall lift us up to his level. What does that mean to us? It means that, instead of God being incarnated in only one man in all the ages, he is incarnated in all men. This means not the degrading of the divinity of Jesus down to humanity, but lifting of the humanity of man up to the level of the divinity of Jesus. How it makes us thrill at the thought of what our humanity is capable of! If he could be so great and good, then all may try and climb up to his height. The regions of possibility so far from being exhausted have only begun to open their treasures. The belief that humanity has already come to flower, discourages the laborers in the human garden. Humanity is still a-making, its perfection is prophecy not history.¹⁸

Rev. Thacher's last Sunday service in Salt Lake City was the Christmas sermon on 21 December 1902. At that time he spoke strongly against a religion of creed and extolled the value of a religion of conduct, saying that "there is no more resemblance between the Christianity of Christendom and the Christianity of Christ than there is between the artificial flower and the fragrant product of the garden, between a mummy and a living man."¹⁹ After his farewell sermon there was an informal reception. He and his wife went to their raisin vineyard near San Diego for a few weeks of relaxation, and then they moved to Fresno, California, so that he could again be the Unitarian minister there.

¹⁸ Accession 1094, Bx 1, Fd 5.

¹⁹ *Deseret Evening News*, 22 December 1902, 5.

In November 1902 Jay F. Sturgis and the other members of the board of trustees sent a letter to Samuel A. Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association, describing the type of new minister they wanted and the conditions in Salt Lake City:

To make a Society of this kind a success, the element of sociability is one of great importance. Therefore, a Pastor must have social qualities as well as profundity of thought, and should be a man that can appreciate the difficulties under which the Society is struggling and be able to impress the members with the fact that he is interested in its welfare and ultimate success. We would like a Pastor who would make his home with us, for we will ultimately have a large and influential organization, at which time he will reap the benefit of his labors. The field is an excellent one, owing to the fact that the dominant Church (Mormon) is continuously loosing [sic] members, of the more intellectual class, who in seeking liberal thought must turn to us.²⁰

The Unitarians decided on a new minister, calling Rev. Albert Walkley of Ontario, Canada, to the position. He was willing to work hard and stay in Salt Lake City until he accomplished what he was being sent to do; he also hoped to be able to build a church there. He was, however, a little concerned over the financial arrangements.²¹ The acceptance by Rev. Walkley was announced in a local newspaper and he was originally scheduled to arrive in Salt Lake City in February 1903, but apparently he had a change of mind late in December 1902 and decided not to come.²²

With only a few days to find a replacement minister for Salt Lake City, the American Unitarian Association acted

²⁰ J. F. Sturgis, et al., Letter to Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, 21 November 1902, located in Ms 508, Bx 7, Fd 1.

²¹ Albert Walkley, Letter to Rev. Chas. E. St. John, 28 November 1902, located in Ms 508, Bx 7, Fd 1.

²² *The Salt Lake Herald*, 22 December 1902, 5.

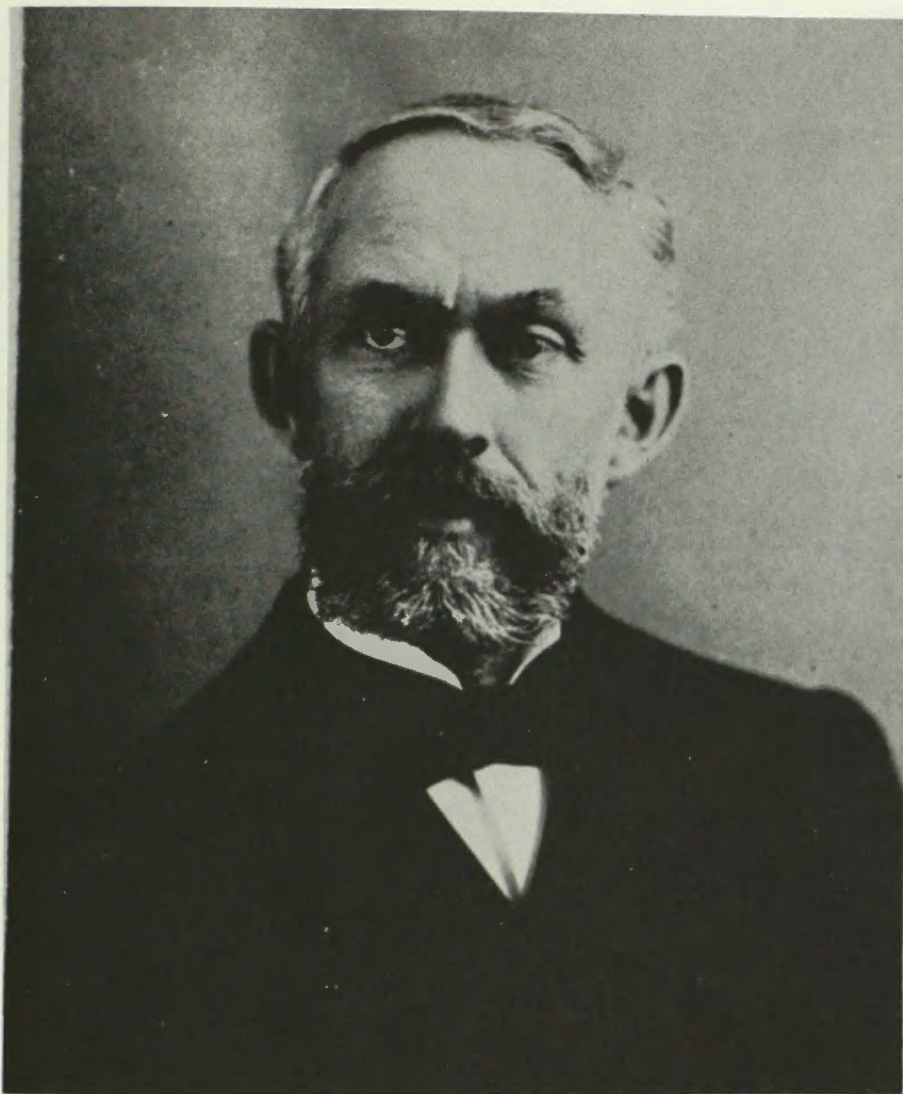


Fig. 26. William H. Fish, Jr., 1903 to 1904. Marriott Library

quickly in arranging the hiring of the fifty-eight-year-old Rev. William H. Fish, Jr. He had received an A.B. degree from Harvard University in 1865 and graduated from the Harvard Divinity School in 1869. He was a minister with great experience, having been ordained in 1871 at the Unitarian

Church in Northampton, Massachusetts, and serving in several other places in Massachusetts, New York, and England. He was a minister at the All Soul's Church in Colorado Springs, Colorado, from 1897 to 1901, when he resigned in order to study and travel in Europe. Because he had just returned to America, Rev. Fish was free to take the Salt Lake City pulpit and arrived on Saturday, 3 January 1903. He gave his first sermon the following day.

Rev. Fish was instrumental in pushing forward the efforts to construct a church building. Jay F. Sturgis, president of the board of trustees, wrote in January 1903 that "there is a movement on foot to buy a lot, and erect thereon a building in the near future, and if successful this will assure the permanency of the Society in this city."²³ At the January 1903 congregational meeting it was decided to choose a building committee. The next month a lot costing \$6,500 was selected, and Rev. Fish was promised \$2,500 by a friend from the East. The society expected to raise the other \$4,000.²⁴ In March 1903 the lot at 138 South 200 East was purchased. The construction contract for \$9,749 was awarded to George H. Raybould, who served as a member of the board of trustees from 1904 until 1928.²⁵ After returning from a trip to the East, Rev. Fish reported in September 1903 that he had received \$2,300 for the church building. On 5 November 1903 the board of trustees held their first meeting in the new building. Regular Sunday services began on 15 November 1903. At this first public meeting Rev. Fish spoke on "Our Church, Why We Have Built It and What We Expect to Do with It." He said that

²³ Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 77.

²⁴ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 23 February 1903, 8.

²⁵ [Jacob Trapp], *The Humanist* 4 (February 1936), located in Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 8.



Fig. 27. Unity Hall, 138 South 200 East. Marriott Library

the aims of the society were “first, to help each other, and next to help those around us to think, feel, and act amid the trials, temptations, and difficulties of life in accordance with the Divine light of truth and love and the Divine law of justice and right.”²⁶ It was consciously built with a consideration of its use as a rental hall for other organizations. The Unitarians continued to meet in Unity Hall until September 1926.

At the annual congregational meeting on 18 January 1904 the question of the name of the church came up:

After a number of remarks by Eugene Lewis, he moved that we name our building The First Unitarian Church. Seconded. This motion called forth a great deal of discussion and a substitute for

²⁶ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 16 November 1903, 7.

the above motion was finally offered. That the building be called Unity Hall, but that a placard be placed upon the front of the building near the door, stating pastor's name, name of the Society (The First Unitarian Society), hours of service, etc. This substitute was accepted, seconded, and carried.²⁷

Rev. Fish invited Rev. George W. Stone, Pacific Coast Field Secretary for the American Unitarian Association, to preach Sunday sermons and deliver a series of four evening lectures on the higher criticism of the Bible during September and October 1904.²⁸

The church building had cost \$15,000 and in January 1904 it was reported that (except for \$600 yet to be raised) the debts were wiped out, with some creditors allowing the debts to be paid off with only fifty percent payments, but others were paid in full.²⁹ Some of the committed funds were slow in coming and it was not until late in the year that the society was free of all debt. The building was dedicated on 25 December 1904.

Due to trouble with his wife's eyes and her general ill health, Rev. Fish resigned on 8 November 1904. The board of trustees asked him to reconsider and remain for another year, but he declined. Rev. Fish and his wife stayed in town until Christmas to attend the dedication of the church, and Rev. Fish delivered his farewell address at that time. His theme was "love thy neighbor as thyself" and he spoke of "the unity and love among the Christian religions and of the way in which they are all growing together in a bond of mutual purpose and sympathy."³⁰ Henry W. Lawrence, a

²⁷ Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 2.

²⁸ The Salt Lake Tribune, 19 September 1904, 12; 26 September 1904, 12; 3 October 1904, 12.

²⁹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 11 January 1904, 8.

³⁰ Deseret Evening News, 26 December 1904, 10.

member of the board of trustees since 1891, thanked Rev. Fish for his interest and help in building the church and congregation, and presented him with two umbrellas. A representative from the Sunday School presented Mrs. Fish with a pin. They afterward moved back to Boston.

At the same meeting in November 1904 in which Rev. Fish resigned, the board called Rev. Franklin F. Eddy to preach for three months at \$150 per month.³¹ He had been ordained at the Universalist Church in Neenah, Wisconsin, in 1896. Rev. Eddy commenced his ministry in Salt Lake City in January 1905.³² The members must have been well pleased with Rev. Eddy, because in February 1905 the board moved that "ballots be prepared by which the congregation may vote on the question of retaining" Rev. Eddy as their minister.³³ The result of the vote was fifty-one in favor and one opposed. Rev. Eddy was retained for the remainder of the year at the same rate as the three-month trial period — an annual salary of \$1,800, with \$700 of this amount being paid by the American Unitarian Association.

Rev. Eddy spoke forthrightly on current social problems and on what he felt were outmoded religious traditions, such as Lent. After a summer vacation he reviewed reports he had read of other ministers' sermons and in his own sermon entitled "A Sheaf of Religious Impressions" he criticized Rev. Charles M. Sheldon and Rev. Dr. Strong for refusing to preach

³¹ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 8 November 1904, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 299.

³² The souvenir program for the fiftieth anniversary, *First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, 1891–41* [Salt Lake City, 1941], which is located in Ms 508, Bx 49, Fd 3, incorrectly says that Eddy was in Salt Lake City for the dedication on 25 December 1904. He accepted the call to become pastor on 19 December 1904, but did not arrive until the next month, preaching his first sermon on 8 January 1905.

³³ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 7 February 1905, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 303.

at the fair grounds where "a wicked carnival of fun" was allowed, and called them "moral zealots who lost their rectitude by being so straight-laced as to fairly bend backward, carrying their heads at such an angle that they could see the stars of heaven better than they could discern the actualities in the world of men."³⁴

The minister's wife, Fannie G. Eddy, did not come to Salt Lake City until 15 March 1905. She had a pleasing and dynamic personality, and the next month she was elected for the year from 1905 to 1906 as president of Unity Circle, which had a membership of thirty-three. During her first year as president the group donated a dollar per month to "a deserving widow," five dollars to the Free Kindergarten, and clothing worth one hundred dollars to the sufferers of the San Francisco earthquake.³⁵ The next year Fannie Eddy was again elected president of the Circle and was presiding at the meeting on 23 October 1906, when Laura L. Zink moved that the group's name be changed to Lloyd Alliance in honor of eighty-five-year-old Mary Lloyd, who had been a member since their organization in 1891.³⁶ Margaret Watson Havenor remembers that Mrs. Eddy was "a forceful, energetic woman, a sports and physical fitness enthusiast, who organized groups of girls for calisthenics and tennis. She had tennis courts built on the church property where 20 to 30 young people played constantly. She also organized a Lend-a-Hand Circle to teach social graces and responsibilities to young girls."³⁷

³⁴ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 August 1905, 10.

³⁵ Unity Circle Minute Book, 26 April and 14 September 1906, located in Ms 508, Bx 74, Fd 3.

³⁶ Lloyd Alliance Minute Book, 23 October 1906, located in Ms 508, Bx 74, Fd 4.

³⁷ Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 79.

On 19 March 1905 Rev. Eddy preached on the sensational subject of "Glory Be to God for Heretics." After referring to many who were considered heretical in one way or another during their lifetimes — from Jesus and Socrates to Luther, Copernicus, Voltaire, and Emerson, Eddy continued: "Every man who seeks independence and distinctive individuality must, in a measure, attain the point of view of the heretic. He must at any cost preserve the veracity of his own soul; he must be faithful to his own conscience in the light of the knowledge that is his, whatever the cost may be."³⁸

In May 1905 Rev. Eddy in discussing "The Unitarian and Orthodoxy" said that Unitarians were committed to the principles of love and rationality. By the characteristic of love Unitarians were "united with all the Christian world in the bonds of the church invisible." However, due to their characteristic of rationality, Unitarians denied most of the doctrinal system proclaimed by orthodox Christians. He explained that the traditional doctrine of the atonement, which is "built up around a deified Christ dying for the sins of the world seems to the Unitarian trying to be loyal to the facts of the universe, a tissue of assumptions not only unprovable, but inherently improbable."³⁹

In a sermon entitled "Getting Together in Religion" delivered on 25 March 1906 Rev. Eddy expressed his skepticism in the lasting value of ecumenical movements: "I doubt if we ever get any unity in religion that is worth a rusty carpet tack in that way. When a number of men can be convened to compromise and adjust the articles of faith for which their predecessors lustily fought, it usually means

³⁸ The Salt Lake Tribune, 20 March 1905, 10.

³⁹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 15 May 1905, 10.

that the issues belong to the past." He referred to the recent confederation of churches in which the representatives of the various orthodox denominations treated each other civilly. Rev. Eddy said that this simply indicated that "no sensible man will get excited about predestination, infant damnation, or immersion. They buried the hatchet, but it was a dull one with a blunt edge, with a worm-eaten handle."⁴⁰

On 12 May 1907 Rev. Eddy delivered a sermon on "Accidental Prophets," in which he said the following:

The religious situation is perhaps most confused by a plethora of prophets. We hear Mary Baker Eddy and her cohorts proclaiming Christian Science as the conquering advent of a purified and rediscovered Christianity. On the other hand, Mark Twain, predicting its mighty growth because it is a delusion and a snare, because it has had a shrewd and unscrupulous leader behind its projects. No less loudly from platform and press the Mormons claim the future for their kingdom. Nor is the Catholic less modest in assuring the world that the one holy church and its faith is invincible as well as unchangeable. And I must admit that the Unitarian explains frequently that modern science and the spread of intelligence paves the way for a new statement of religion which shall be in harmony with common sense. [Alexander] Campbell with his new theology and [Algernon] Crapsey and all the accidental prophets of the new orthodoxy really stand for the same thing, although they do not always see clearly whither they are tending. Which one of these is right? Not a blessed one of them, probably. Yet they are all prophetic, if accidentally so, because they are as straws which show which way the wind blows.⁴¹

Rev. Frank Eddy continued as minister until August 1907, when he and his wife left Salt Lake City.

⁴⁰ The Salt Lake Tribune, 26 March 1906, 10.

⁴¹ The Salt Lake Tribune, 13 May 1907, 12.



Fig. 28. William Thurston Brown, 1907 to 1910. Marriott Library

William Thurston Brown studied at Union University from 1883 to 1884, graduated from Yale University in 1890, and the Yale Theological Seminary in 1895. He served as the minister of the Congregational Church of Madison, Connecticut, from 1893 to 1896 when he was charged with heretical preaching by some of his parishioners, but was acquitted. At

this time Brown was a Christian Socialist, and was an editor of the periodical, *The Social Gospel*, along with Bolton Hall and Ernest H. Crosby. Rev. Brown served as minister at the Plymouth Congregational Church at Rochester, New York, from 1898 until he was ousted from the pulpit in 1902. He dropped the "Christian" adjective from his previous Christian socialism and became a pure Socialist. William Thurston Brown is described during this period as traveling about the country "denouncing the evils of capitalism and upholding the rights of labor, free speech, and free sex."⁴² In 1903 he left Congregationalism and joined Unitarianism, being minister of the Church of Our Father in Boston from 1904 to 1906. In 1906 to 1907 he was in Denver, serving as field secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and at various times during this period he was a guest speaker in Salt Lake City.

In September 1907 he became the minister in Salt Lake City, but still continued as field secretary until 1910. Rev. Brown spoke to forty ladies of the Lloyd Alliance on 12 November 1907 on the subject of "The Primitive Roots of the Christian Religions."

On 2 February 1908 Rev. Brown castigated capitalists and pointed out that it is impossible to be successful in business and follow the principles of Jesus' sermon on the mount. He asserted that "if Jesus lived today and attempted to act out his alleged Palestinian life, he would be arrested as a vagrant and put to work on the stone pile." He concluded his sermon with the following sentiment:

It may be tragic, but it is true nevertheless, that the pathway of humanity up through the ages is marked by the empty and shattered

⁴² Paul Avrich, *The Modern School Movement: Anarchism and Education in the United States* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), 62.

shells of discarded religious faiths. With the growing light of larger knowledge the ghosts of ignorance and superstition have vanished, one by one. It may well be that many or all of the religious theories we cherish today will go as the rest have gone.⁴³

In caustic criticism of the Christian churches of the day, Rev. Brown preached a sermon on "The Christmas Gospel: How and Where It Is Being Preached" on 20 December 1908, in which he said that the people who really keep the spirit of Christmas are those "who have a word of genuine hope for the hopeless, good tidings for the poor, a message of gladness for the oppressed of the earth. . . . They are not the menders and patchers of a worn-out system of fundamental injustice. They are the heralds of the dawn of the new day of freedom and brotherhood and joy."⁴⁴ William Thurston Brown was certainly not an orthodox Christian, for a close friend later described his philosophy: "Humanity was his God; the human race his Supreme Being."⁴⁵

During his Easter sermon on 11 April 1909 Rev. Brown explained his views on immortality, which to him referred to the eternal consequences of one's acts:

Immortality is a question of quality and not of quantity, a question of the now and here, not at all a question of the future. Religion has nothing to do with a future existence, for the simple reason that our minds cannot know any such thing. . . .

The assurance or conviction of immortality never comes to any soul from mere argument or reasoning or authority. All the philosophers that have lived or that live now have not been half so potent in creating in men's souls the belief in immortality as the simple life of a Galilean peasant whose teaching hardly contains a hint of the idea of a future life.

⁴³ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 3 February 1908, 7.

⁴⁴ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 21 December 1908, 2.

⁴⁵ W. M. Kerr, "A Tribute to the Rev. William Thurston Brown," *First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, 1891-41* [Salt Lake City, 1941], located in Ms 508, Bx 49, Fd 3.

All the facts of religion are of the present tense. . . . Immortality must be a matter of consciousness, a fact of one's life, or it does not exist for a man. The problem of immortality, from center to circumference, is a moral problem: the problem of giving to human life immortal worth, as well as immortal significance. And that problem, we may as well know, is not the problem of a God, but the immediate problem of men.⁴⁶

On 12 September 1909 Rev. Brown delivered a sermon entitled "The New Religion Predicted by President Eliot of Harvard; What It Is, Why It Is Inevitable, and What It Will Mean for Society and the Individual." Among other things Rev. Brown said:

In this new religion men and women are no longer going to think of any God at all outside themselves. A greater gain for this human world than that cannot be imagined. This world of ours will become genuinely and nobly religious, reverent, loving, just, happy, strong, self-reliant, godlike, only when it definitely discards the last vestige of its superstition about some God among the clouds and holds in its heart the sacred consciousness that in our own hands, in our own minds and wills, lies the key to the secret of life, to every happiness, to freedom, service, justice, [and] joy.⁴⁷

The published report of Brown's sermon caused Rev. C. C. McIntyre, pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church, to respond to Eliot's prediction of the new religion by saying the following Sunday: "The reach of this false thinking extends not merely to the basis of Unitarianism and Socialism and Christian Science and to many of our universities, but it is permeating the minds of thousands of our thinking men and women who are connected with no church or creed."⁴⁸

⁴⁶ The Salt Lake Tribune, 12 April 1909, 9.

⁴⁷ The Salt Lake Herald-Republican, 13 September 1909, 7.

⁴⁸ The Salt Lake Tribune, 20 September 1909, 12.

There has only been one time that a president of the United States has attended a Unitarian church service in Salt Lake City. On Friday, 24 September 1909 President William Howard Taft came to Salt Lake City, and stayed until noon on Sunday. Rev. Brown neither attended nor preached that week at his own Unitarian society, ostensibly due to previous commitments elsewhere. Rev. Brown's strong socialist convictions were probably incompatible with the conservative Republicanism of President Taft—even though they were both Unitarians. Whether this was a factor in Rev. Brown's not preaching is unknown, but the Sunday morning sermon was preached by Rev. Arthur H. Sargent, a recent graduate of the Harvard Divinity School. Rev. Sargent was ordained



Fig. 29. President William Howard Taft at Unity Hall, 1909. Marriott Library

as a minister the next year at the Unitarian church in Eugene, Oregon.⁴⁹ Salt Lake Unitarians who attended that day in 1909 remembered that they had great difficulty in finding a chair big enough to fit President Taft and that the president was searching to no avail in his pockets for some money to place on the collection plate until his aide, Captain [Archibald] Butt, seeing his predicament, brought forth a shiny silver dollar from his own wallet.⁵⁰

Rev. Brown, an avowed Socialist, on Sunday evening, 19 December 1909, held a debate on the subject of "Is Socialism Scientific?" at the Social Science Club, which he had organized. Brown took the affirmative position predicting the doom of capitalism in the near future, and Chauncey Thomas, railroad editor of *The Salt Lake Tribune*, argued against the proposition and affirmed that socialism was impossible in practice.⁵¹

On 30 January 1910 Rev. Brown preached a forceful sermon on "How Religion Began and What It Meant and Means." He verbally escorted his listeners back to the beginning of religion:

If we would picture to ourselves the beginning of religion on this earth, we must place ourselves in imagination in the midst of the dawning time of human reason and understand that religion arose solely out of the living experience of those primitive animal-human ancestors of our race. Instead of religion beginning in a garden, it began in a jungle. Instead of thinking of a God walking in the garden in the cool of the day and talking familiarly with man, we must think of a time when no thought of God existed at all, when any such conception would have been impossible. Instead of being face to face with a God, our first parents were simply face to face with the world they lived in, and what we call

⁴⁹ *Deseret Evening News*, 27 September 1909, 2.

⁵⁰ Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 80.

⁵¹ *The Salt Lake Tribune*, 20 December 1909, 14.

religion grew out of two things: first and chiefly, the effort to understand the meaning of the world they lived in; and second, the effort to establish [a] relationship with the unseen powers which they believed to be the source of various things which they saw or experienced. In a word, the earliest recollection of what he saw or heard or experienced. . . . In his dreams he seemed to see by his side the forms of friends whom, when he awoke, he knew to be a long way off. Death came and took away those he loved. Again in his dreams he saw the forms of these loved ones. How natural that he should come to associate with all he saw an unseen, invisible form or spirit, and to believe that such an unseen form or spirit is in every man and every thing! It was natural and inevitable that he should create the universe in the image of his own thought — and that is what he did. That was all he could do. . . .⁵²

Rev. Brown concluded by observing that the essential difference between superstition and religion is that superstition is acceptance of the crude guesses of former times while religion is man's present attempt to understand the world around him. In general he focused his criticism on Christian churches, but while in Utah he directed his writing against the Mormon church in particular, for "failing to confront social problems and work for economic justice."⁵³

Some of the Unitarian members wanted Rev. Brown to resign because of his socialist beliefs, and they stirred up protest against him while he was in Boston attending the national Unitarian gathering — he was still field secretary of the Rocky Mountain District. Wanting to devote the rest of his life to promoting Socialism, he tendered his resignation on 26 June 1910. He told the congregation that "he had severed his connection with other churches to affiliate with the Unitarian church, because he felt that he could not

⁵² The Salt Lake Tribune, 31 January 1910, 12.

⁵³ John S. McCormick, "Hornets in the Hive: Socialists in Early Twentieth-Century Utah," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Summer 1982): 238.

otherwise find that freedom of thought and expression which Socialism demanded of him. He was now convinced, he said, after three years of labor, that even the Unitarian church could not give him what his soul so much demanded."⁵⁴ His socialist philosophy was too extreme for even a liberal church. There was no money in the treasury of the Unitarian society, so the Unitarian women's organization, the Lloyd Alliance, was appealed to. They provided the necessary \$200 to pay Rev. Brown's wages for July and August 1910.

Before his resignation, William Thurston Brown's wife, Mary Frances Wallace, begged the board of trustees to do something about her husband, who was leaving her for another woman. Whatever efforts they made were unsuccessful, because Brown divorced his wife and left his four children for Elsie Sutton Cohen Pratt, whom he married in May 1922 at San Francisco. Brown turned to lecturing and establishing Modern Schools, which are private schools following the educational views of the Spanish anarchist, Francisco Ferrer. With the help of others he set up Modern Schools in Salt Lake City in October 1910 (the second in the nation), Portland in 1911, and Los Angeles in 1919.⁵⁵ Brown attempted to revive a Modern School in Chicago and from 1916 to 1919 he was the director of the Modern School at Stelton, New Jersey. In the 1920s he joined the Communist party and taught at a private boys school in Menlo Park, California.

Unity Hall was leased on Sunday mornings to the Christian Scientists beginning in April 1910, while the Unitarians met

⁵⁴ The Salt Lake Herald-Republican, 27 June 1910, 1.

⁵⁵ An incomplete copy (missing pages 1-2 and 11-12) of the *Prospectus of the Modern School Established at Salt Lake City* (Salt Lake City: The Modern School, 1910) is located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 9.

in the evening. When Rev. Brown left the Unitarian pulpit at the end of June 1910, there were no longer any Sunday sermons until September 1912. Even though this twenty-six-month period of no church services was eight months longer than the collapse from late 1899 to early 1901, the organization of the Unitarian society stayed intact, with periodic board meetings and new boards of trustees elected at the annual meetings in 1911 and 1912. There were also regular meetings at Unity Hall of the women's group, the Lloyd Alliance. Judge Daniel N. Straup, a justice of the Utah Supreme Court, was president of the board during this interim period. Required professionally to judge his fellow human beings, Judge Straup's philosophy is interesting:

He [Straup] made no pretense of being able to see beyond the veil that curtains us from what seems to be the unknowable infinite. He had no belief that whatever power controls the universe is merely a God of superhuman form, nor any belief in heaven or hell as places for the imposition of rewards and punishments; the idea that anyone should be condemned to endless torment casts doubt upon the compassion of any just deity.⁵⁶

During the period between ministers the society's board of trustees and the women's alliance would sometimes have joint meetings, and in one instance after such a meeting both the society and the alliance sent letters of condolence and flowers when they heard of the death of Jeanette Lawrence, wife of board member Henry W. Lawrence.⁵⁷ Due to the socialism emphasized in the ministry of William Thurston Brown, the public mind associated, and even equated, Socialism with Unitarianism. According to Judge Frederick

⁵⁶ J. Allan Crockett, "Justice Daniel N. Straup," *The Utah Bar Journal* 14 (January–December 1986): 26.

⁵⁷ Lloyd Alliance, minute book, 15 December 1911, located in Ms 508, Bx 74, Fd 4.

C. Loofbourow, president of the board from 1917 to 1924, it took the struggling Salt Lake Unitarians about thirteen years to overcome this stigma.⁵⁸

Fred M. Bennett preached a candidating sermon in Salt Lake City on 14 July 1912. At the business meeting held following the sermon, Bennett asked for \$100 per month. After discussing whether they could pay a minister and other church expenses, the congregation voted to call him as their minister.⁵⁹ Fred Bennett received a B.Litt. degree from the University of Illinois in 1889 and an A.M. degree from the Harvard Divinity School in 1895. The same year he was ordained and began as minister in Carthage, Missouri. He also served as minister at Keokuk, Iowa, from 1896 to 1899, and at Lawrence, Kansas, from 1899 to 1912.

Rev. Bennett came to Salt Lake City in September 1912 with a one-year contract. At his initial sermon on 8 September 1912, Rev. Fred M. Bennett explained that Unitarians view the Bible as a collection of religious writings gathered over a thousand years and that judgment about the validity of Biblical doctrines must be based on human reason. He explained that "rather than look to Church heads or the literal word of the Bible for spiritual guidance, reason should predominate and should be the final authority," though he acknowledged that reason was fallible and had its limits.⁶⁰

Fred Bennett with his wife were teachers in the Sunday School, which in 1912 had thirty-one enrolled and an average attendance of twenty-five.⁶¹

⁵⁸ [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Rev. H. E. Kellington, 13 February 1924, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 18.

⁵⁹ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 14 July 1912, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 364.

⁶⁰ The Salt Lake Herald-Republican, 9 September 1912, 3.

⁶¹ "Statement of Receipts and Disbursements, First Unitarian Society, Sunday School, from Oct. 1, 1912, to April 7, 1913," located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 1, 399.

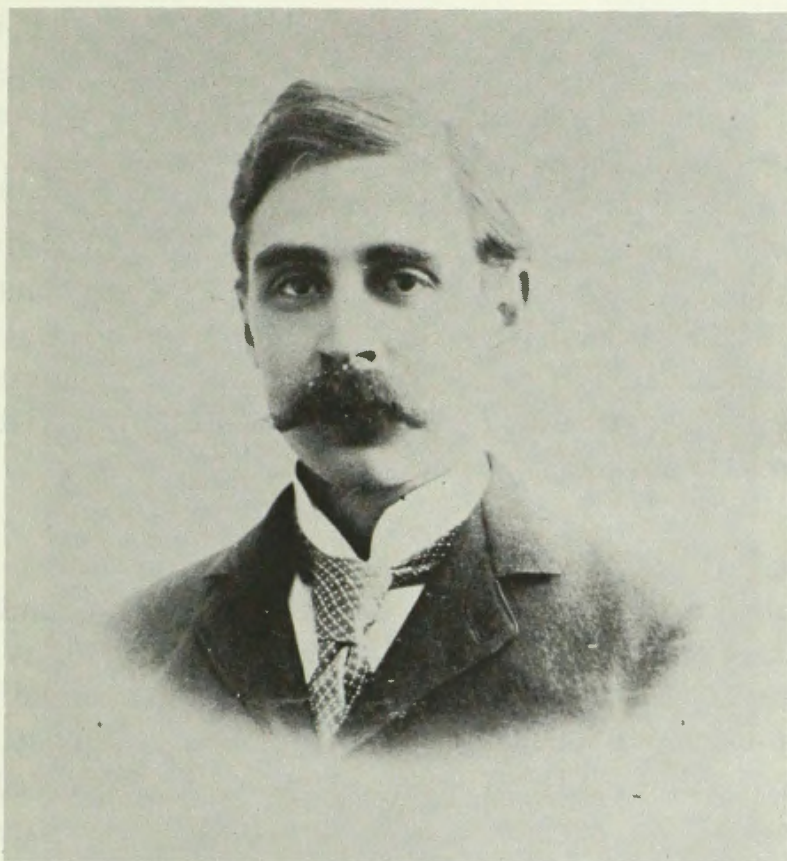


Fig. 30. Fred M. Bennett, 1912 to 1913. Marriott Library

Rev. Bennett arranged the following series of six lectures by University of Utah faculty members, which were delivered during April and May 1913: Byron Cummings, "The Prehistoric Inhabitants of Utah"; Frederick J. Pack, "Lake Bonneville"; E. H. Beckstrand, "The Smoke Problem of Salt Lake City"; Joseph Peterson, "Heredity and Eugenics"; R. L. Byrnes, "The Role of Bacteria in Daily Life"; and Levi Edgar Young, "The Journey of the Pioneers."⁶²

⁶² Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 13 April 1913, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 2.

In his farewell sermon on 29 June 1913, which was entitled "The New Theism," Bennett said that modern theism was "an agnosticism of light, not of darkness, one which refused to consider religious truths as unknowable but regarded much of it as unknown at present," and that "the knowledge of religious truth, as of other truths, is relative and that this is necessary because of the finite viewpoint."⁶³ Rev. Bennett left for New York to become a field agent for the Middle States Conference of the American Unitarian Association, and a year later he moved to Youngstown, Ohio, to become the Unitarian minister there.

At the congregational meeting on 8 June 1913 the members ratified the selection of John Malick as the minister for the coming year, although Estelle Cowan and Henry W. Lawrence, two members of the board of trustees, did not want the church to continue at all.⁶⁴ Rev. John Malick received an A.B. degree from Antioch College of Yellow Springs, Ohio, in 1901, an S.T.B. degree from Harvard Divinity School in 1904, and an LL.B. degree from Harvard University in 1911. He was ordained in 1904 in Littleton, Massachusetts, and continued as minister in that church for three years, when he moved to Great Falls, Montana, to serve as minister for the year 1907 to 1908. From 1909 to 1913 Rev. Malick served as a minister in Kansas City. Rev. Malick came to Salt Lake City in September 1913. During the five years that he served the local Unitarian society the weekly attendance was often under twenty and it was hard to find people to fill positions on the board of trustees.

⁶³ *The Salt Lake Herald-Republic*, 30 June 1913, 3.

⁶⁴ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 8 June 1913, located in Ms 508, Bx 1, Bk 2.

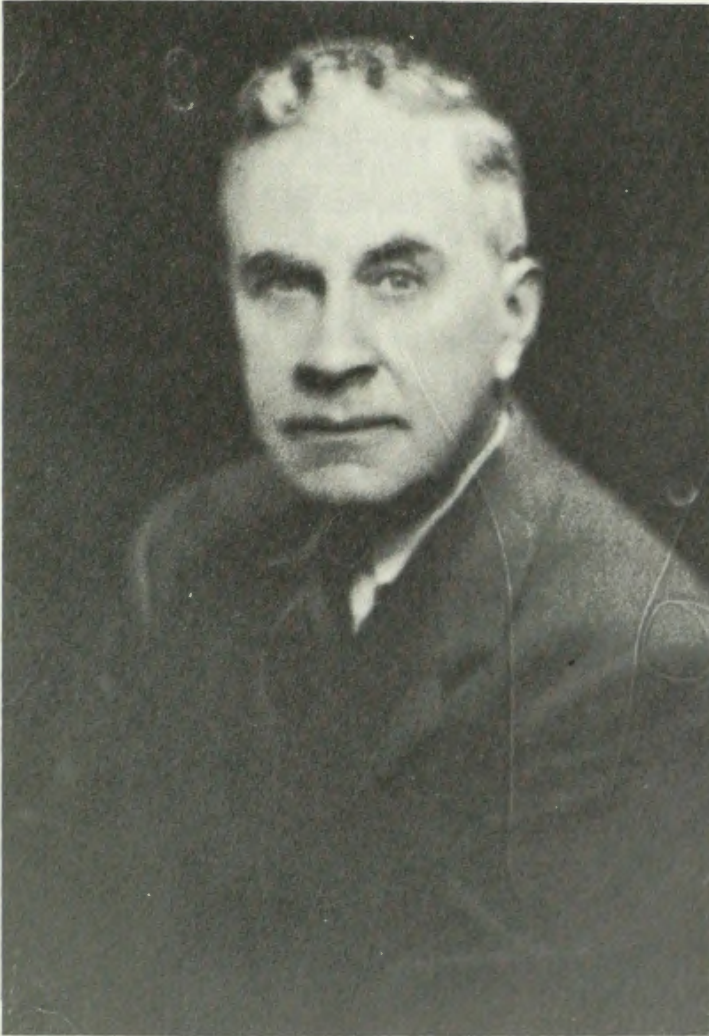


Fig. 31. John Malick, 1913 to 1918. Marriott Library

Rev. Malick was commissioned in May 1916 to be a missionary representative of the American Unitarian Association. Malick was active in community service and in 1918 was superintendent of the local American Red Cross, which organization had been founded in 1881 by Clara Barton, a Universalist.

In the 1917 membership directory there is a statement of what Unitarianism means:

We think of religious thought as something that grows, bettering with the years. As a church, we have felt it unwise to commit our thought to a written creed, lest the letter kill. With each advance in knowledge the belief of our church has been modified. Whatever the truth is, that we would incorporate. That we may worship both in truth and in spirit, we have accepted the new light from many fields. On specific matters, such as the nature of God, Christ, the future life, the nature of man and the church, we have sought both the true and the helpful. . . . Those who have been lonely seekers in the spiritual field might find with us just the fellowship that is craved. Our welcome is to all who would join in this worship, which we find helpful, and in the service of man which we deem imperative.⁶⁵

Rev. Malick left in June 1918 for the First Unitarian Church of Cincinnati. His wife, Eleanor, remained until the next month, when she joined him. The armistice ending World War I was signed on 11 November 1918, but there were still no further church services until November 1919. During this time the Unitarians stayed intact mainly through the efforts of the Lloyd Alliance, whose president was Lillie E. Clark. They continued such activities as all-day sewing sessions to provide funds for the Red Cross, soliciting canned fruit and jellies for the convalescents at Fort Douglas, and conducting rummage sales and dinners. Because of the Spanish influenza epidemic, a prohibition against all society and club meetings was issued on 10 October 1918 and the alliance did not meet again for four and a half months. The women of the Lloyd Alliance continued to meet through May 1919. However, after their summer recess, they did not

⁶⁵ "What is the Unitarian Church?" *Directory: First Unitarian Church, 138 South Second East Street* (Salt Lake City: F. D. Jennings, 1917), located in Ms 508, Bx 69, Fd 8.

reconvene in the fall and had no further meetings until the new minister arrived.

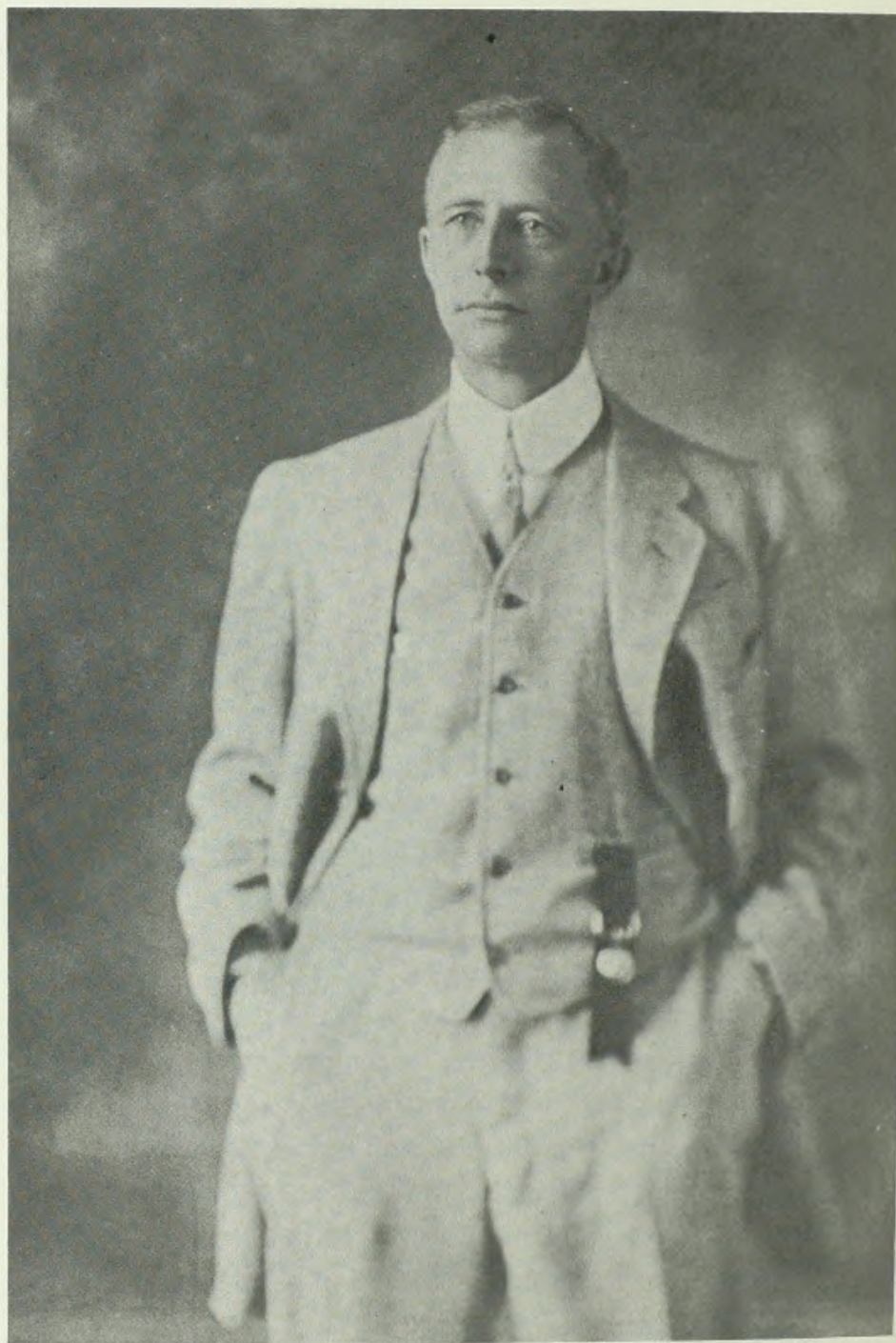
Martin F. Fereshetian, who had escaped from his native Armenia during the massacre of 1895, received a B.D. degree from Meadville Theological School, and was ordained a minister at the Unitarian church in Kent, Ohio, where he served from 1916 to 1918. Rev. Fereshetian was the minister for the All Souls Unitarian Church at Colorado Springs, Colorado, from 1918 to 1919, and also received an A.M. degree from Colorado College, located there.

Rev. Fereshetian began in Salt Lake City on 16 November 1919, and served as the Minister-at-Large, which means that it was a temporary mission largely funded directly by the American Unitarian Association in Boston. One notation in the old church membership records refers to his being an Acting Minister.⁶⁶ He functioned in that capacity until his resignation in June 1920, when he became the Minister-at-Large for the First Unitarian Church of Sacramento until March 1921. Then he served as the minister of the Unitarian Church in Salem, Oregon, from 1921 to 1929.

From September to the end of 1920 Frederick C. Loofbourow, president of the board, tried to fill the pulpit with various laymen from the local congregation, but this effort was unsuccessful.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Ms 508, Bx 61, Fd 2.

⁶⁷ [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, 8 November 1923, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 17.



III

Building the Present Church

1921–1941

IT WAS THE RECOMMENDATION of the former pastor, Adelbert Hudson, to the president of the board, Frederick C. Loofbourow, which led to Herbert Kellington's invitation to speak to the congregation in Salt Lake City for three Sundays in 1921. He delivered his first sermon on 23 January. Loofbourow liked him and felt he was sincere and had high ideals, but seriously wondered if Kellington could "compete with other ministers in this city in point of education and experience in the pulpit."¹ The board of trustees decided to shorten the trial period and after only one more Sunday sermon they voted unanimously to invite Herbert Kellington to be the minister of the fifty-four-member congregation for one year at \$2,500, with the American Unitarian Association paying three-fifths of the salary.²

Herbert E. Kellington had been the minister at a Methodist church in Canada from 1900 to 1903, at the Congregational church in Howell, New York, from 1905 to 1908, and at the Universalist church at Cooperstown, New York, from 1908 to 1909. Kellington received B.A. and M.A. degrees from the University of Toronto in Canada, and an S.T.B. degree from the Unitarian School for the Ministry at Berkeley,

¹ FCL [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Reverend A. L. Hudson, 27 January 1921, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

² [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Rev. H. E. Kellington, 4 February 1921, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

California. After the tragic death of his only son by drowning, he decided to devote himself to help underprivileged boys, and from 1909 to 1921 he worked in various social and educational positions in California. At the time of his call he was the superintendent of the San Francisco Bay Area Juvenile Detention Home.

He and his wife, Emma, arrived in Salt Lake City on 11 March 1921. In order for Rev. Kellington to learn from and associate with other Unitarian ministers, arrangements were made for him to attend classes in Chicago during the summer of 1921.³

Rev. Kellington knew he lacked the polish of an experienced public speaker, and, accordingly, went around the city listening to the other preachers. He gained further experience by preaching at Fort Douglas and the Jewish Tabernacle. He admitted that he was no match for the stirring sermons of the popular Congregational minister, Rev. Dr. Elmer I. Goshen, who had been in Salt Lake City for twenty-two years. The difference in Sunday attendance at their respective churches underscored that point. Estelle G. Cowan, a member of the board of trustees the previous year, complained about the quality of Kellington's sermons.⁴ Numerous times at meetings and gatherings the question of whether to continue the church organization or to terminate the society came up and was discussed. Only a few new members were coming in and there was an "apathetic disaffection" of the well-to-do men on whom the continuation of the society depended.⁵ During the summer of 1922

³ Adelbert L. Hudson, Letter to Hon. C. F. [Frederick C.] Loofbourow, 16 June 1921, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

⁴ Adelbert L. Hudson, Letter to Hon. Frederick C. Loofbourow, 4 February 1922, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

⁵ John M. Boutwell, Letter to Rev. Minot Simons, 12 April 1922, located in Ms 508, Bx 7, Fd 4.

Rev. Kellington went to Boston for further instruction, as well as to gain experience with other Unitarian ministers. In Kellington's own assessment of his first year's efforts, he put the blame on two main problems: the pessimism of the members, and the oratory, popularity, and liberal theology of Dr. Goshen.⁶

Rev. Kellington became known as the West Side's "fighting parson" because of his volunteer work with the boys at Neighborhood House. He did not lecture to them about what they should be doing, but instead brought boxing gloves and taught them the art of self-defense. Rev. Kellington felt that the results of his efforts with the boys clearly showed that boxing taught them "self-control, physical condition, and manners, and self-respect."⁷ The Unitarian Martha J. Watson, who helped organize Neighborhood House, had \$15 stolen from her handbag by someone while she was visiting there, though one cannot be certain it was one of the boys.⁸

A parish questionnaire filled out in February 1923 by Rev. Kellington and sent to the headquarters in Boston indicates that the membership was seventy with twenty-five new members in 1922. The minister's salary remained at \$2,500 and the annual budget was \$4,008.⁹

In October 1923 Rev. Kellington sent Judge Loofbourow a letter of resignation, suggesting that "the right type of young man, with good social qualities, a good dresser and

⁶ H. E. Kellington, Letter to Rev. Minot Simons, 29 May 1922, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

⁷ Steve Moloney, "'Fighting Parson' Uses Boxing Gloves as Sermon for Kiddies," *The Salt Lake Telegram*, 14 January 1923, 3.

⁸ FCL [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Dee Stone, 7 May 1921, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 16.

⁹ Parish Questionnaire, 1 February 1923, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 17.

advertiser, will attract the younger people and, if he has staying qualities, will after a time succeed."¹⁰ The response of the board of trustees was to grant Kellington a four-month leave of absence, in order for him to observe the methods used by ministers of successful Unitarian churches on the West Coast (Los Angeles, San Diego, and Santa Barbara).¹¹ Kellington left Salt Lake City on 19 November 1923, and as it turned out never returned to the Salt Lake Unitarian society. He became minister of the Unitarian church at Santa Ana, California, from 1924 to 1927, but was dropped from Unitarian fellowship on 11 March 1930. He later received his Ph.D. degree from the University of California.

Frank L. Hunt was the next minister for the Unitarians in Salt Lake City. He received an A.B. degree from Mercer University in 1915, a B.D. degree from Newton Theological Seminary in 1920, and an A.M. degree from the University of Chicago Divinity School in 1921. He served as pastor at the Howe Street Chapel in Methuen, Massachusetts, from 1916 to 1917, and was ordained in San Diego, California, in 1918. Rev. Hunt pitched for the Lynn-Cornet baseball team of the Greater Boston Twilight League during 1920 and 1921, and told a Tribune reporter: "They say as a minister that my delivery is good, doubtless a trait developed during my work in the box."¹² He was a minister at the Community Baptist Church of King City, California, from 1922 to 1923, and had never before served as minister in a Unitarian church.

¹⁰ H. E. Kellington, Letter to Judge F. C. Loofbourow, 8 October 1923, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 17.

¹¹ [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Rev. Samuel A. Eliot, 25 October 1923, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 17.

¹² The Salt Lake Tribune, 26 November 1923, 12.

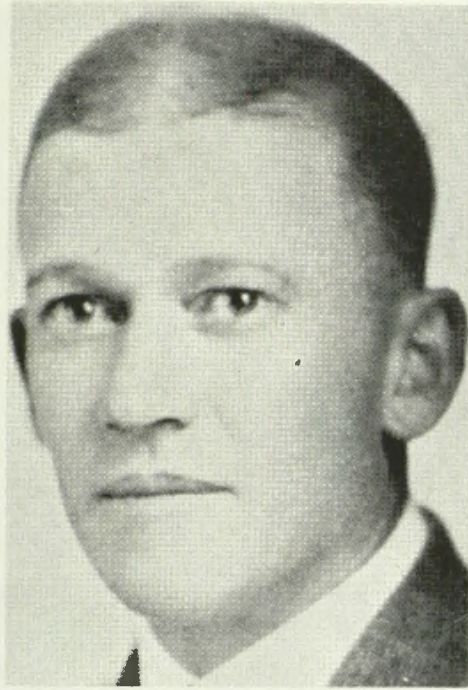


Fig. 33. Frank L. Hunt, 1923 to 1930. Marriott Library

Rev. Hunt came to Salt Lake City with his wife, Edith, in November 1923, at the suggestion of Carl B. Wetherell, secretary of the Unitarian headquarters for the Pacific Coast. Originally it was intended that Rev. Frank L. Hunt be simply an “acting pastor,” filling in for Kellington, who was temporarily absent. Since previous arrangements had already been made, on his first Sunday Rev. Hunt read the service and introduced the featured speaker, Levi Edgar Young, a faculty member at the University of Utah and one of the First Seven Presidents of Seventies in the Mormon church hierarchy.¹³ Soon after Rev. Kellington left, it was brought to the

¹³ [Frederick C. Loofbourow], Letter to Rev. H. E. Kellington, 27 November 1923, located in Ms 508, Bx 40, Fd 17.



Fig. 34. The Hunt Family: Randy, Katherine, Edith, and Waldo Henry.
Marriott Library

attention of Loofbourow that Kellington had no intention of ever returning to Salt Lake City.

During Hunt's ministry the present church building was constructed. In 1926 Unity Hall was sold to the newly formed Trinity Baptist Church, which under the leadership of Rev. Franklin G. Huling had split off from the Immanuel Baptist Church.¹⁴ Slack Winburn, a local architect, worked with architects at the Boston headquarters to design a Colonial Revival church building.¹⁵ The architecture of the building is intended to be a symbolic "reminder of the New England antecedents in the thought of Channing, Parker, and Emerson of the Unitarian movement."¹⁶ The collection of funds to pay for the building were begun by donations by Vivian P. Strange and Roy T. Porte of \$5,000 each, on condition that \$10,000 be raised among the local members. This amount was matched by another \$20,000 from the American Unitarian Association.¹⁷ While the new church building was being built, the congregation met at the Ladies Literary Club, located at 850 East South Temple, from September 1926 until July 1927. The church services in the new building, which is located at 569 South 1300 East, commenced in July 1927. At the dedication on 4 September 1927, the program included vocal and instrumental music, a reading by Rabbi

¹⁴ The Utah Historical Records Survey Division of Professional and Service Projects, *Inventory of the Church Archives of Utah*, 3 vols. (Salt Lake City: The Utah Historical Records Survey, 1940), 2:58.

¹⁵ Thomas Carter and Peter Goss, *Utah's Historic Architecture, 1847–1940: A Guide* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1988), 149, and Bill Monroe Interview, U-1042, Accession 814.

¹⁶ [Edwin H. Wilson], "The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City," in "An Outline History of the Protestant Churches of Utah," ed. Herbert W. Reherd, which is in *Utah: A Centennial History*, ed. Wain Sutton (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1949), 2: 688.

¹⁷ John T. Sundloff, "Memories anent Frank Lee Hunt and the Church in the Twenties," 30 March 1941, located in Ms 508, Bx 41, Fd 3.



Fig. 35. Ladies Literary Club, 850 East South Temple. *Ladies Literary Club*

Samuel H. Gordon, and a sermon by Rev. Dr. Caleb S. S. Dutton, a Unitarian minister from San Francisco. That evening there was an instrumental and vocal concert, featuring the violin playing of Frederick Kuphal of the Los Angeles Symphony Orchestra and the singing of Madame Kitty Delevanti of Salt Lake City.¹⁸

Roy T. Porte, who served on the board of trustees from 1925 to 1931, was elected president of the board in May, 1927. Porte's will provided not only for his family but also for the organizations he loved. When he died in 1936, it was revealed that two-thirds of the dividends from his capital stocks was bequeathed to his widow, son, and daughter, and the other third to the employees of the Porte Publishing Company. This arrangement would continue as long as members of his family lived, and then equal portions of the estate would go to the ultimate beneficiaries — the American Unitarian Association, the Masonic Foundation of Utah, and

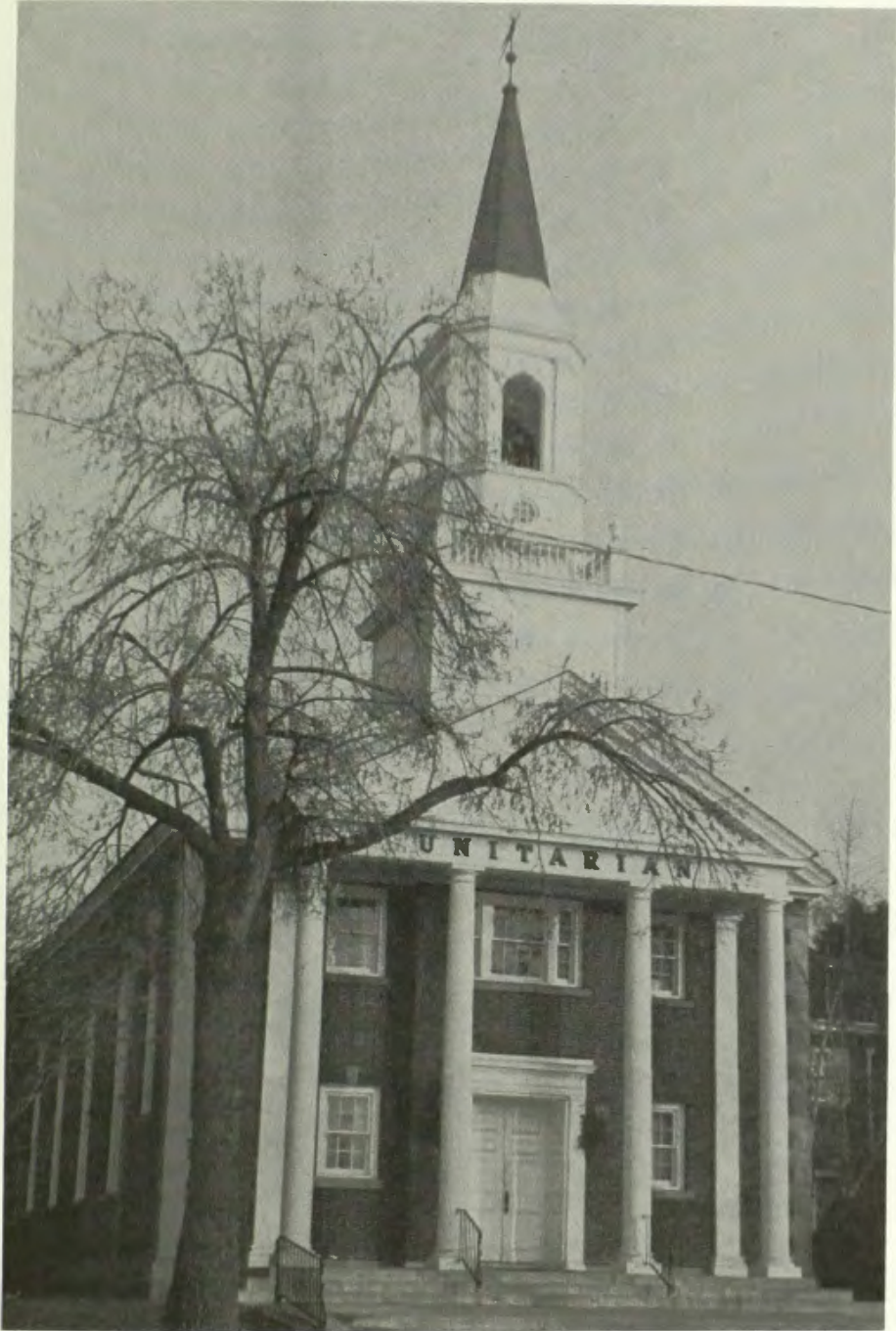
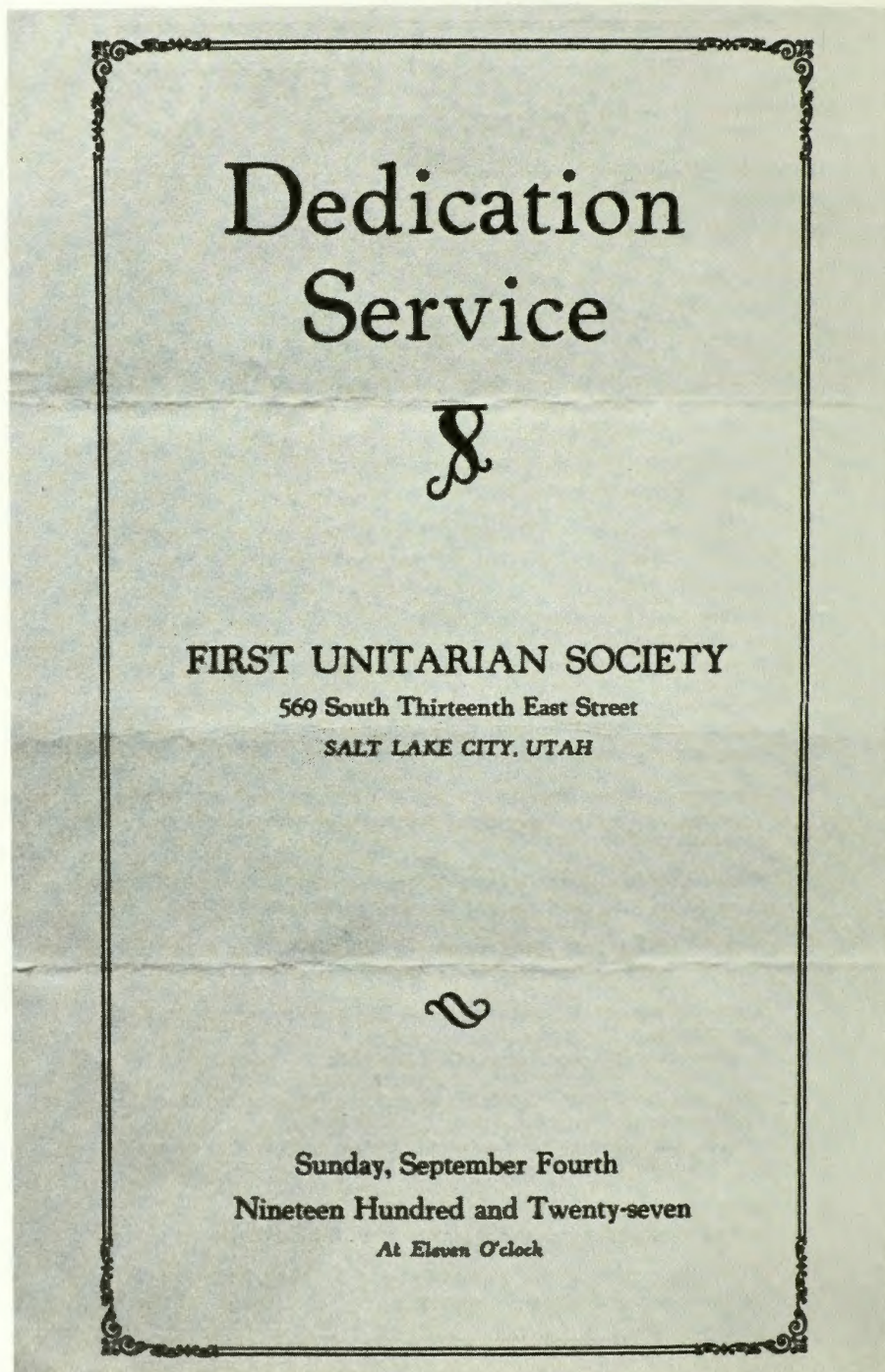


Fig. 36. First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, 569 South 1300 East.
Lorille Miller



the Community Chest of Salt Lake City. In April 1978, after the death of the final members of Porte's family, the association "accepted a gift of \$162,909 from the estate of Roy T. Porte."¹⁹

In April 1928 Rev. Hunt reported that the membership was 124, and that was almost a two hundred percent increase over what it was when he arrived.²⁰ At the annual congregational meeting of 12 April 1929, called to order by board president, Albin F. Palm, it was reported that the society had a balanced budget, was free of debt, and should voluntarily reduce the amount requested from the American Unitarian Association. The membership had shown some increase, and the total assets were \$61,398, with the budget for the current year being \$5,430. H. Earl Havenor, superintendent of religious education, reported that the highest attendance during the year was 139. Upon motion of William Z. Harrison, Martha J. Watson and George H. Raybould, who had both served continuously as members of the board of trustees from 1904 until 1928, were unanimously elected by the assembled congregation as emeritus members of the board in recognition of their contributions to the society. Raybould died less than eight months later, but Watson retained this status through 1939. This is the only time that such an honor was bestowed on board members.

At this same annual meeting in 1929 Rev. Hunt expressed his discouragement that there was so little evidence of results from his work as their minister. He further stated that it was difficult for him to remain enthusiastic with such small

¹⁹ "Board acts on Beacon future," *Unitarian Universalist World* 9 (15 May 1978): 1, 3, located in Ms 508, Bx 112, Fd 2, Virginia Picht, "Roy Trewin Porte, Unitarian," located in Ms 508, Bx 73, Fd 2, and Porte Publishing Company Papers, Ms. 182, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Bx 1, Fd 8.

²⁰ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 17 April 1928, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 4.

attendance at the Sunday services. He hoped that his efforts were "being accomplished in intangible ways and expressed his faith in the Society as a 'living influence' in the community."²¹ Rev. Hunt had become a close friend and fishing companion of Judge James W. Cherry, a member of the board of trustees and justice of the Utah Supreme Court.²²

George Thomas, president of the University of Utah, invited Rev. Hunt to deliver the baccalaureate sermon at the 1929 graduation ceremonies. He did so on 2 June 1929, speaking on the subject of "Patterns of Creative Spirit."²³ With church attendance continuing to decrease, Rev. Hunt finally gave up and offered his resignation in March 1930. At the meeting held to consider and accept Hunt's resignation, James H. Wolfe explained that "in no way had the resignation been called for by any member of the society or by the Board of Trustees but that Mr. Hunt himself felt that it was necessary that a change be made in order that the Unitarian movement locally might be bettered."²⁴ Similarly, at the annual congregational meeting, Vivian P. Strange expressed the society's appreciation for the work done by Rev. Hunt during his tenure as minister, and a rising vote of thanks was given to the minister and his wife.²⁵ Frank L. Hunt remained an active participant in the local Unitarian society for another two years, until he resigned from Unitarian fellowship on 23 March 1932. When he left the ministry in 1930, Frank Hunt became an agent for the Aetna

²¹ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 12 April 1929, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 4.

²² J. Allan Crockett, "Justice James W. Cherry," *The Utah Bar Journal* 13 (Fall-Winter 1985): 35.

²³ George Thomas, Letter to Reverend Frank Hunt, 2 February 1929, and the program for the Sixtieth Annual Commencement, 2 June 1929, located in Ms 508, Bx 41, Fd 3.

²⁴ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 9 March 1930, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 5.

²⁵ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 11 March 1930, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 5.



Fig 38. Jacob Trapp, 1930 to 1941. Marriott Library

Life Insurance Company in Salt Lake. Mr. Hunt and his wife lived in Salt Lake City until 1934, when they moved to San Francisco, where he continued in the insurance business.

Jacob Trapp, who was born in 1899 of Dutch immigrant parents, was raised under the strictest Dutch Calvinist creed. At the age of about fourteen he “decided that a family of non-believing neighbors of whom I was very fond were not

going to be condemned to everlasting torment in hell."²⁶ This and other liberal viewpoints led him, at the age of twenty, to excommunication for heresy. He graduated from the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry at Berkeley, California, in 1928. After graduation he served as assistant minister of the First Unitarian Church of Berkeley.

Rev. Trapp, on his way to the annual May meetings in Boston, stopped in Salt Lake City and by invitation delivered a candidating sermon. He was called to the Salt Lake ministry on 29 June 1930, with his services to begin 15 August 1930. His annual salary was \$2,500, plus use of the parsonage. In August 1930 he and his wife, Helen, moved to Salt Lake City, and they remained throughout the Depression of the 1930s.

The annual congregational meeting was held on 10 April 1931 with approximately fifty people in attendance. Rev. Jacob Trapp, after reporting that the average church attendance was about seventy, stated confidently that progress would be made in the society's primary purpose, which was "the spreading of the liberal movement as it applies to making for a better and happier human existence." The members voted to reemploy Rev. Trapp for the coming year with a salary increase of \$300, making a yearly total of \$2,800. The report of the Women's Alliance indicated they had a membership of forty, with an average attendance of sixteen. The alliance provided flowers for the Sunday services, which were afterwards given to the sick. The newly formed Social Service Committee had helped in a day of assistance to the adult blind. The Sunday School had an average attendance of eighty, which did not include the Young People's University Group of ten. The two Girl Scout troupes had a total

²⁶ Jacob Trapp, "Humanism and Beyond: A Transition," *The Christian Register (Unitarian)* 135 (July 1956): 14.

membership of eighty-seven, and the Boy Scout troupe had twenty-nine members. The budget accepted for the year April 1931 through March 1932 was \$5,328, but the previous year had seen a reduction in income of \$962.²⁷

Rev. Trapp felt deeply that there was a need for a new type of church service book, which would fit his own humanist and Unitarian convictions. He explained that "man's devotion to the highest is to be explicitly directed in song and ritual, as it should be in practice, to the building of a higher type of personal and social life here and now."²⁸ In 1931 Rev. Trapp and Roy T. Porte, owner of the Porte Publishing Company in Salt Lake City, collaborated on the publication of a seventy-two-page hymnal entitled *Songs and Readings*. In his foreword to the book Jacob Trapp described how this project came to fruition: "This edition of *Songs and Readings* is not for sale. It was made possible by the generosity of Mr. R. T. Porte of the Porte Publishing Company. Seeing the need for experimental effort in this direction, he offered, without solicitation, to print sufficient copies for the use of the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City, and gave much of his time to the careful preparation of this edition."²⁹ The church also made free copies available to any ministers who requested them. Among Trapp's own contributions to the volume are the following two hymns and three readings, with the congregational response indicated by italics:

²⁷ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 10 April 1931, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 5.

²⁸ Jacob Trapp, "Foreword," in Jacob Trapp and R. T. Porte, ed., *Songs and Readings* (Salt Lake City: Porte Publishing Company, 1931), 3.

²⁹ Jacob Trapp, "Foreword," in Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 3-4.

THE WORLD MADE ONE

Wonders shall the world still witness
Never known by men of old,
Never dreamed by ancient sages,
Howsoever free and bold.
These shall be our sons' and daughters',
Heirs of worlds at last made one —
Worlds that in the times of groping
Broken efforts were begun.

They shall rule with winged freedom
Worlds of health and human good,
Worlds of commerce, worlds of science,
All made one and understood.
They shall see a world and love it,
Which we only partly see;
They shall make its towns and woodlands
Beautiful from sea to sea.

For a mind shall then be in them
We but vaguely apprehend —
Aims magnificent and holy,
Making joy and labor friend.
Then shall bloom in song and fragrance,
Glorious harmony of deed,
Fruits of peace and love and justice —
If today we plant the seed.³⁰

³⁰ Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 31. The text of "The World Made One" was revised for the 1937 hymnal. For example, among other changes, the last half of the first stanza was altered to:

Sons and daughters shall inherit
Wondrous arts to us unknown,
When the dawn of peace its splendor
Over all the world has thrown.

Also, the conditional nature of the last line of the poem with its initial "if," was changed to "Where today we plant the seed." See the revised version in Jacob Trapp, comp., *Songs and Readings: A Book of Hymns, Responsive Readings, Meditations and Other Service Elements for Use in Families and Churches*, including *Naming of an Infant Child, Marriage, Thanksgiving and Burial of the Dead* (Salt Lake City: Porte Publishing Company, 1937), 70, and *Services of Religion for Use in the Churches of the Free Spirit* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1937), 352.

This delightful hymn to world peace, which Trapp composed in 1931, was first published in this little volume. It has not only enjoyed great popularity among local and national Unitarians but has also been printed in the official hymnals of several Christian denominations.

PRAYER

O Wisdom, teach our wayward minds,
And lead us by thy guiding light
To follow what the heart desires
Without transgressing what is right.

O Love, possess our wayward hearts,
And, by thy purifying fire,
Make ashes of our selfishness,
Consume unteachable desire.

O Beauty, move our souls to see
And make the world thy perfect shrine;
Our feet can touch no common clay
Unhallowed by the tread of thine.³¹

THE GROWING AND LIVING WORLD

Man was made to grow. We seek for our souls a wider room,
with windows open to the sunlight, and the breeze of the world
blowing through.

With open minds and open hearts we expand to the growing and living world.

For the world is full of deathless things. Though kingdoms
perish, and cities crumble into dust, and words fall dead like dry
leaves shed from autumn trees —

Still beauty walks immortal on the earth.

Though the lore of all the centuries vanish like an unremembered
dream —

Unwearied Truth still beckons toward the unknown glory.

Out of the ashes of old hates, mistaken hopes, and deeds done
in darkness and imperfection —

³¹ Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 20-21. This is also printed in Trapp, *Songs and Readings: A Book of Hymns*, 76.

There rises forever the shining and immortal form of Goodness.

Let the unbelieving heart be put to shame, and let the mocking mouth fall still —

For the nature of truth is to conquer, and the heart of goodness is forever young.³²

CHRISTMAS DAY

And there came unto us a Voice, saying, Thou shalt bring forth a son. He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of Man, and the Son of the Highest;

He shall reign in wisdom and in peace; and of his kingdom there shall be no end.

Then said we unto the Voice, How shall this be, seeing we know not God? And the Voice answered and said, Even now the power of the Highest overshadoweth thee;

Therefore also that holy thing which shall be born of thee shall be called the Son of God.

Then we that heard these sayings laid them up in our hearts, saying, What manner of child shall this be!

And behold, he was born a babe, among the lowliest of the low; we wrapped him and laid him in a manger, and the angel of love ministered unto him.

The shepherds came and laid their gifts at his feet; all the world's workers, and offered the fruits of their labor.

Kings and magi gave freely their science and their power, for One had been born who was to be greater than they.

And the child grew, and waxed strong in spirit, for the strength of humanity was in him, the tenderness and hope of a million years.

And the glory of that hope shone round about him, emancipating his soul into freedom and joy.

For lo, the barriers are broken down, and the child of one hath become the child of all. Behold, the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance:

Before him whose servants they are — the Prince of Peace, the Child glorified and worshiped, because he is the Child of Man.³³

³² Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 49.

³³ Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 55.

Building the Present Church: 1921–1941

SOME BLESSED

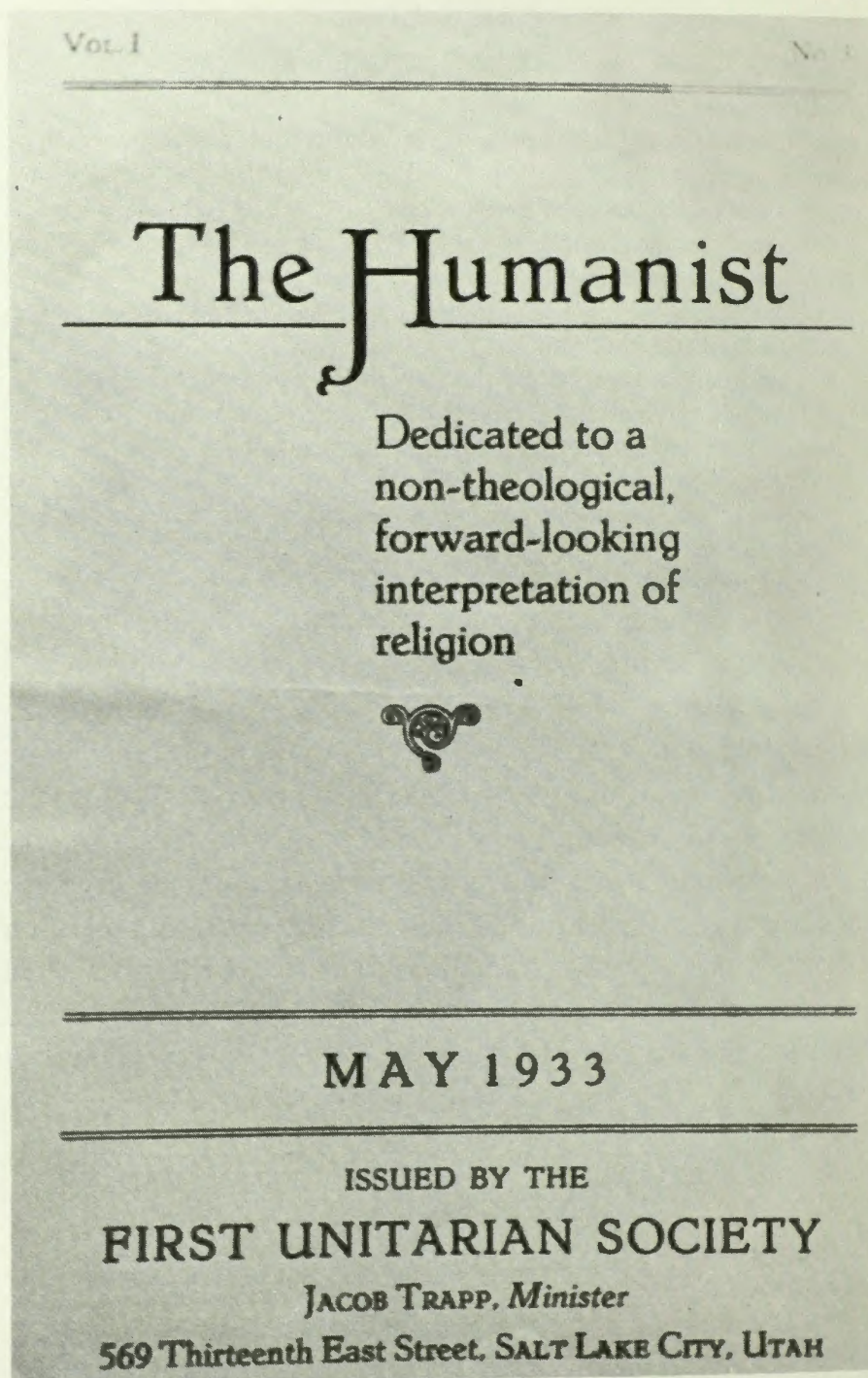
Blessed are they whose love is undemanding.
It shall enrich them beyond measure.
Blessed are they who are loved in return, with a love unselfish
and pure,
For to them has been added great happiness.
Blessed are they whose love grows deeper with the years.
Around their lives shall gather the shining fruits of peace.
Blessed are they whose children may know these fruits, and
blessed are their children;
They shall know a beauty that the world can never take away.
Blessed are they who are not withdrawn from humanity in their
love, but find their love a remover of barriers;
Through them is the overcoming of all hatreds.
Blessed are they who love the unloving, the faithless, the
despised and rejected of men,
For of them is the Love that redeems the world.³⁴

These Trappian beatitudes were inspired by Jesus' beatitudes in the New Testament. Rev. Trapp delivered a series of sermons entitled "Religion and Modern Poets." The charismatic Trapp also encouraged the development of poetic expression in others. He started a weekly evening Poetry Club, in which those interested gathered around the fireplace in Eliot Hall and read their poetic compositions and then discussed and criticized each poem.³⁵ In 1931 the parish hall was named Eliot Hall, in honor of Samuel A. Eliot, who had been so important in establishing the Unitarian society in Salt Lake City.³⁶

³⁴ Trapp and Porte, *Songs and Readings*, 54. This is also printed in Trapp, *Songs and Readings: A Book of Hymns*, 27–28.

³⁵ Martha Stewart Interview, U-1073, located in the Everett L. Cooley Oral History Project, Accession 814, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, hereinafter abbreviated to Accession 814.

³⁶ [Jacob Trapp], *The Humanist* 4 (February 1936), located in Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 8.



From 1933 to at least 1936 Trapp published a monthly newsletter entitled *The Humanist*. Originally the subtitle was "Dedicated to a non-theological, forward-looking interpretation of religion," but in December 1933 it was changed to "This thing is God, to be man with thy might," and then to "Religion is a cooperative quest for the good life."

The society did better each year and by 1935 the financial assistance from the American Unitarian Association ceased. Rev. Trapp was active in community and civic affairs, serving for six years on the first state welfare board under Governor Henry H. Blood and on the Executive Committee of the Salt Lake Conference of Jews and Christians. Looking back at the Unitarian society in the 1930s, Jacob Trapp reminisced that "Our little church was influential in city & state affairs far out of proportion to its size. Three state Supreme Court justices were members of our church — Judge [James W.] Cherry, Judge [Daniel N.] Straup, and Judge [James H.] Wolfe."³⁷

Rev. Trapp spoke at the funeral of Roy Trewin Porte, who died in July 1936. He praised Porte's excellence in the printing business and his support of the Unitarian cause in Salt Lake City. At the time of Porte's death, Rev. Trapp was working on an expanded hymnal, and mentioned Porte's deep interest and support for this "book of humanist worship."³⁸ The next year Trapp published this 161-page compilation entitled *Songs and Readings*, which was dedicated to the memory of Roy T. Porte. The volume was very popular in the local congregation, and it included quotations from such

³⁷ Jacob Trapp, Letter to Stan Larson, 3 February 1990.

³⁸ [Jacob Trapp], "Memorial Service, July 23, 1936, for Roy Trewin Porte," located in Roy T. Porte Publishing Company Papers, Ms 182, Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City, Bx 1, Fd 10.

Unitarians as Sarah F. Adams, E. Burdette Backus, William Cullen Bryant, William Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver W. Holmes, Frederick Lucian Hosmer, Robert G. Ingersoll, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Samuel Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Edwin Markham, James Martineau, Theodore Parker, Curtis Reese, and Isaac Watts. In this edition Trapp retained his "Prayer," "The World Made One," and "Some Blesseds," and also added the following two new Trappian passages — a poem and a funeral sentiment:

Wisdom, be thou more precious than
possessions without end;
Truth, be thou more sacred than the pleasing
of a friend;
Courage, be thou our strength to gain the
distant goal;
Beauty, send thou a cleansing wonder to the
soul.³⁹

If immortality has any meaning whatsoever, or any reality, it must now be a real possession: a quality of life which triumphs over death. It was such a quality which Jesus attained. After he was gone, his disciples were sorrowful for their lack of him. But one day when they were gathered together a power entered their minds and hearts, and they were joyfully conscious of his presence as the Comforter. Formerly they had lived in him; now he lived in them. So Jean-Christophe, in Romain Rolland's great novel, felt about his mother. Simple peasant woman though she was, she attained that quality of life which lifts man above the plane of mere existence. And he who had lived in her, now felt that she was to live in him. "Now I bear you in my soul, O mother who bore me!"⁴⁰

Rev. Trapp received an honorary S.T.D. degree in 1937 from his alma mater, the Pacific Unitarian School for the

³⁹ Trapp, *Songs and Readings: A Book of Hymns*, 6.

⁴⁰ Trapp, *Songs and Readings: A Book of Hymns*, 132.

Ministry. In addition to his ministerial duties, Trapp also orally reviewed current books. These book lectures in the church provided extra money for Trapp to bolster his salary, which was often in arrears. He reviewed Vardis Fisher's *Children of God*, and Fisher quipped that Trapp made more on the book than he did. Another book reviewed was Annie Pike Greenwood's *We Sagebrush Folks* and that day — unknown to Trapp — she was sitting on the front row and was so impressed with Trapp that she became a regular attendant at and member of the Unitarian society.⁴¹

Early in 1940 attacks were being made on anyone involved in the liberal movement in Utah. Because there appeared to be a concerted underground campaign to unseat Dr. Trapp as the Unitarian minister, he decided in mid-January to submit his resignation to Halbert S. Kerr, board president, and give the members a chance to indicate whether they wanted him to continue as their minister. At the annual congregational meeting on 24 January 1940 the keynote speaker was James H. Wolfe, a justice of the Utah State Supreme Court, and he said that due to the war in Europe there was "a wave of witch hunting and red baiting" and that liberals in Utah were not exempt from such a smear campaign.⁴² Dr. Trapp discussed his letter of resignation and his reasons for writing it. He was asked to reconsider his resignation, and the congregation unanimously voted to retain Rev. Trapp as their minister.

Marking the climax of Trapp's ministry was the fiftieth anniversary of the church. Preparations for this celebration began in 1938, when invitation lists began to be compiled.

⁴¹ Jacob Trapp, Letter to Stan Larson, 6 February 1990.

⁴² Ms 508, Bx 121, Sbk 2.

FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY

of Salt Lake City



1891 - 1941

At the time of the anniversary celebrations in February through March 1941 there were still in Salt Lake City two of the original charter members (Ernest M. Fowler and Anne Maddison Bradley). The commemoration began on 16 February 1941 with a sermon by Dr. Ernest Caldecott, minister of the First Unitarian Church of Los Angeles and regional director of the Pacific Coast Conference. He urged Unitarians to adopt the progressive attitudes of those who lived before, but not follow their social or theological ideas. Jacob Trapp gave a series of five sermons from 23 February to 23 March 1941, which were entitled "The Winning of Our Birthright, or the Lesson of Unitarian History in Europe," "Early American Unitarianism and the Genius of Channing," "Emerson's Contribution to Humanity's Growing Bible," "Unitarianism Since Emerson," and "The Religion of the Future." The commemorative Sunday program on 30 March 1941 featured a sermon by Dr. Aurelia H. Reinhardt, president of Mills College of Oakland, California, and moderator of the Unitarian Fellowship. Her sermon was entitled "That Thy Days May Be Long" from the fourth commandment and she interpreted honoring one's parents to mean "honoring the finer heritage of yesterday in order that we may have the living values to weave into our building for the morrow."⁴³ That evening there was a five-part program in Eliot Hall during which each decade was featured by a display of costumes appropriate to that era and by a reminiscence of what life was like.

At 7:00 P.M. the next evening a banquet was held in the Lafayette Ballroom of the Hotel Utah with some 220 guests attending. Short speeches and toasts were offered by George

⁴³ Jacob Trapp, "Report on Fiftieth Anniversary Celebration of the First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City," which is printed in Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 100.

Thomas, president of the University of Utah, to liberal education; Dr. Ernest E. Monson, Utah Secretary of State, to liberal democracy; Rabbi Samuel H. Gordon of the Congregation B'nai Israel, to the liberal layman; H. Earl Havenor, former president of the board, to the liberal minister; Dr. Aurelia Reinhardt, president of Mills College, to liberal religion; and Rev. Jacob Trapp, present minister of the society, to the founders of Salt Lake's liberal church and to its future. Also included in the printed program was W. M. Kerr's tribute to Rev. William T. Brown.⁴⁴

The eleven-year period during which Trapp served as minister is longer than any other minister in the Salt Lake City church — either before or after. It was difficult for Rev. Trapp to leave both the members and the mountains. He loved to hike in the canyons, especially in the autumn when the colors were so impressive. In September 1941 Dr. Trapp, with his wife and children, left Salt Lake City to go to the Denver Unitarian Church. A pulpit committee was named in September 1941 to search for a new minister. In the meantime the Sunday morning services were taken care of by various individuals in the community and University of Utah scholars, including Sydney W. Angleman, Ralph Chamberlin, Leroy E. Cowles, Harold Dalglish, Delbert M. Draper, E. E. Ericksen, Harold Folland, Arthur Gaeth, Frederick W. Ganzert, Hector Lee, Sherman Brown Neff, Mack Nicolaysen, Waldemer P. Read, Charles P. Schleicher, and Robert D. Steele. Also in November 1941 Rev. Harold P. Marley, a Unitarian from Ann Arbor, Michigan, and Rev. John W. Cyrus, of the Church of Disciples, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, filled the Sunday pulpit.

⁴⁴ First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City [Salt Lake City, 1941], located in Ms 508, Bx 49, Fd 3

IV

Liberal Religion During and After World War II

1942–1960

AT THE CONGREGATIONAL MEETING in February 1942 the board selection and appointment of Dr. J. Raymond Cope to be the new minister of the church was ratified by a unanimous vote. He had come to Salt Lake City as the tentative candidate and preached Sunday sermons on 28 December 1941 and 4 January 1942, and during this time he met the board and various members. Cope received his A.B. degree from Franklin College in 1927 and received his Ph.D. in philosophy from Ohio State University in 1936. He had been a Unitarian minister in Dayton, Ohio, and in Roslindale, Massachusetts.

In order to come to Salt Lake City, in February 1942 Dr. Cope left his position as professor of philosophy at Indiana University. He emphasized the attainment of peace through arbitration, and remained as minister in Salt Lake City through the years of World War II. By executive order President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the War Relocation Authority, and as a result of this the Japanese-American Relocation Center was set up at Topaz, Utah. Rev. Cope encouraged the youth to become pen pals with those Japanese and Japanese-Americans in the Topaz Internment Camp, and Barbara Kreek remembers her letters to Anna Horia, both during the war and after Anna returned to California.¹ The

¹ Barbara Kreek Interview, U-1058, Accession 814.



Fig. 41. J. Raymond Cope, 1942 to 1946. Martin Zwick

Unitarian church may well have been the only organization in Utah which encouraged their members or youth to express any concern or humanity toward these Japanese-Americans at Topaz. Largely due to Dr. Cope's influence, during the war Eliot Hall was used as a day nursery school for the children of working mothers.

In August 1943 he published an article entitled “Any Truth is Religious,” in which he said the following:

Unitarianism denies the basic dualism which projects human values into another realm. Brotherhood, good will, and equality have their application in this world, and only the scientific method will give us the insight into how they are to be realized. The Unitarian may not be an authority in any special field, but in actuality he is a true scientist, if he lives up to the precepts of his faith. The whole world is a laboratory, and he is a scientist whose love of truth and disciplined attitudes enable him to apply the accumulated wisdom of man to the solution of the private and social problems of his life.²

Rev. Cope was a special lecturer in philosophy and religion at the University of Utah, and the university extension classes, which he was a part of, became known as the Adult Community School. His salary in 1944 was \$3,200. In 1945 Rev. Cope expressed to a Tribune reporter that Salt Lake Unitarianism was a “workshop for community living, where individual and social life is examined in accordance with advancing knowledge and growing vision of mankind.”³

In June 1945 Dr. Cope had delivered to his door a Mormon leaflet entitled “Sustaining the General Authorities of the Church.” The message disturbed him very much, but he decided to do nothing about it until several emotionally upset Mormons came to him to discuss the matter. The latest to visit him was a prominent Mormon doctor, who in the discussion “broke down and wept like a boy,” and Rev. Cope was concerned that this man was “undergoing a very dangerous experience.” The passage that seemed to cause

² J. Raymond Cope, “Any Truth is Religious.” *The Christian Register*, Unitarian 122 (August 1943): 280.

³ Kate B. Carter, comp., *Heart Throbs of the West* (Salt Lake City: Daughters of Utah Pioneers, 1946), 7:258.

the most turmoil was the following, which advocated blind obedience to authority:

He [Lucifer] wins a great victory when he can get members of the Church to speak against their leaders and to "do their own thinking." . . . When our leaders speak, the thinking has been done. When they propose a plan—it is God's plan. When they point the way, there is no other which is safe. When they give direction, it should mark the end of controversy.⁴

Cope, accordingly, wrote to the president of the Mormon church, George Albert Smith. Three weeks later Smith responded by claiming that the statement was not actually written by a Mormon leader. Smith is less than truthful, since the statement was the church's official Ward Teaching message for that month and published in the Mormon-owned *Improvement Era*. Smith conceded, however, that "one or more of them [Mormon leaders] inadvertently permitted the paragraph to pass uncensored. By their so doing, not a few members of the Church have been upset in their feelings, and General Authorities have been embarrassed." Smith added to Cope that the message did not really represent "the true position of the Church,"⁵ but there was no official retraction of the message.

Rev. Cope often spoke out on current social and religious problems. In January 1946 he noted in the local church newsletter that a recent national magazine article reported black physicians being socially accepted in two counties in Georgia and then added that "our most fervent prayer for Salt Lake City is that wise leadership of the LDS Church may

⁴ J. Raymond Cope, Letter to President George Albert Smith, 16 November 1945, located in Ms 508, Bx 42, Fd 10.

⁵ Geo. Albert Smith, Letter to Dr. J. Raymond Cope, 7 December 1945, located in Ms 508, Bx 42, Fd 10. The text of the message in *The Improvement Era* 48 (June 1945): 354 confirms the accuracy of Cope's quotation.

revoke its doctrinal attitude on the Negro problem.”⁶ The ban on black males receiving the Mormon priesthood was not lifted for another thirty years — in June 1978.

In his final words written for the congregation, Dr. Cope said his role in fighting for human rights gave him the deepest meaning in life.⁷ He and his wife, Marian, moved to the First Unitarian Church at Berkeley, California, in April 1946.

The next minister was Edwin H. Wilson. He was ordained a Unitarian minister in 1928 and had served as minister of the First Unitarian Church of Dayton, Ohio, the Third Unitarian Church of Chicago, Illinois, and the All Souls Church of Schenectady, New York. Wilson received a B.D. from Meadville Theological School in 1926 and an M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1929.

Ed Wilson was managing editor of *The New Humanist* from 1929 to 1936, and when *A Humanist Manifesto* was published in 1933, he was one of the thirty-four original signers. This manifesto maintained that the universe is self-existing and not created; that man is a part of nature; that the dualism of mind and body must be rejected; that individuals are molded by their culture; that there are no supernatural or cosmic guarantees of human values; that individuals must find their religious emotions expressed in a heightened sense of personal life; and lastly that humanism “will (a) affirm life rather than deny it; (b) seek to elicit the possibilities of life, not flee from it; and (c) endeavor to establish the

⁶ *Unitarian News-Bulletin*, 27 January 1946, located in Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 17.

⁷ *Unitarian News-Bulletin*, 31 March 1946, located in Ms 508, Bx 102, Fd 17.



Fig 42. Edwin H. Wilson, 1946 to 1949. Marriott Library

conditions of a satisfactory life for all, not merely the few."⁸ The Unitarians in Salt Lake City were one of the first groups to accept this humanist position. Wilson was also one of the founders of the Humanist Press Association in 1933, which

⁸ See a copy of the separately printed leaflet in Ms 508, Bx 116, Fd 7 and the text in *The Christian Register: A Journal of Free Churches* 112 (11 May 1933): 303. Twenty years later it was reprinted, with notes, in *The Humanist* 13 (March-April 1953): 58-61.

eight years later changed its name to the American Humanist Association. From 1938 to 1941 he was the editor of *The Humanist Bulletin* and in 1941 continued as editor of *The Humanist*, which is a quarterly journal on religious and philosophical thought.

Rev. Wilson delivered his candidating sermon to the congregation on Sunday, 31 March 1946, on the subject "What Counts Most in a Free Church," and the following Sunday his forum address was entitled "Church, State, and School." The congregation voted 48 to 11 to offer him the Salt Lake Unitarian pulpit at an annual salary of \$4,500, plus use of the parsonage.

When Wilson came to Salt Lake City in August 1946 he continued in his role as editor of *The Humanist*, which was published locally. He read and approved articles to be published, as well as wrote his own articles, book reviews, and updates. During his three years in Salt Lake City, Wilson was a special lecturer in the Department of Philosophy at the University of Utah, teaching Social Ethics and Philosophy of Democracy and once a year serving as guest lecturer for Obert C. Tanner's Comparative Religion class. Rev. Wilson supplied the following statement about the essence of Unitarianism:

The distinguishing factor in the Unitarian religion is its principle of the free mind. No formal creed is imposed on its members but each is free to develop his faith according to reason and conscience and the church is operated to stimulate and encourage that growth. There is constant encouragement to members to justify their free faith by a life of service.⁹

Rev. Ed Wilson composed the following poem which was printed in the national Unitarian hymnal, *Services of Religion*

⁹ [Edwin H. Wilson], "The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City," in "An Outline History of the Protestant Churches of Utah," ed. Herbert W. Reherd, which is in *Utah: A Centennial History*, ed. Wain Sutton (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1949), 2: 689. Cf. Edwin Wilson Interview, U-964, Accession 814.

(known more popularly by its cover title, *Hymns of the Spirit*):

Where is our holy church?
Where race and class unite
As equal brothers in the search
For beauty, truth, and right.

Where is our holy writ?
Where'er a human heart
A sacred torch of truth has lit,
By inspiration taught.

Where is our holy man?
A mighty host respond;
For good men rise in ev'ry land
To break the captive's bond.

Where is our holy land?
Within the human soul,
Wherever strong men truly seek
With character the goal.

Where is our paradise?
In aspiration's sight,
Wherein we hope to see arise
Ten thousand years of light.¹⁰

During his tenure in Salt Lake City Rev. Wilson was active in civic affairs, and served as chairman of the Council for Civic Unity, which worked to improve race relations.

Alfred P. Stiernotte, who received a B.S. degree from the University of Alberta in 1935 and a B.D. degree from Meadville Theological School in 1944, was the minister of the First Unitarian Church of Vancouver, British Columbia, from 1943 to 1946. He came to Salt Lake City in January 1947 to assist Wilson as managing editor of *The Humanist*, to

¹⁰ *Services of Religion for Use in the Churches of the Free Spirit* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1937), 412. See Hance and Picht, *In Commemoration*, 107.

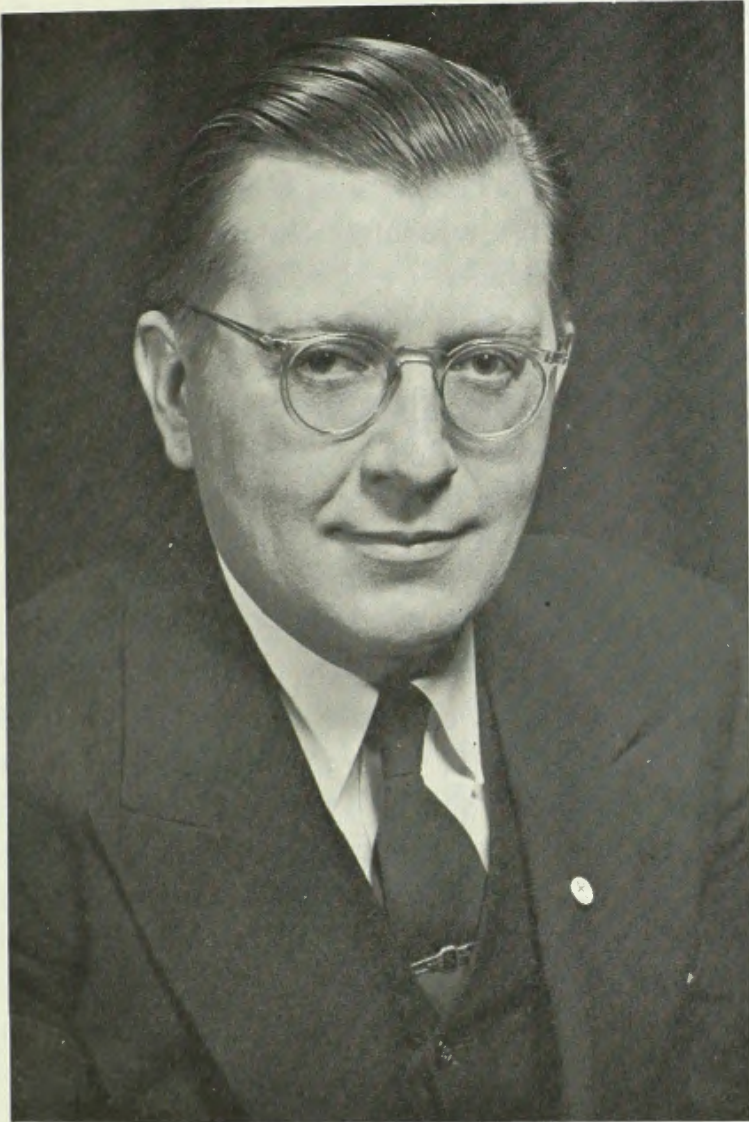


Fig. 43. Alfred P. Stiernotte, 1947 to 1948. Marriott Library

be assistant minister, and to be director of Religious Education. Stiernotte stayed through July 1948, moving to the Unitarian church at Bedford, Massachusetts. In 1954 he received his Ph.D. in philosophy of religion at the Harvard Divinity School.

Another Unitarian who taught in the Philosophy Department at the University of Utah was James L. Jarrett, who was president of the board of trustees in 1948 and received his Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Michigan the same year. There was sometimes friendly rivalry when the attendance at Jarrett's weeknight lectures were greater than Wilson's Sunday sermons.

The membership in 1949 was about 325, and on the last day of April 1949 Rev. Wilson wrote to Layton E. Baldwin, president of the board of trustees, notifying him of his resignation as minister, which would take effect on 1 August 1949.¹¹ In recognition of his contributions to the humanist cause and his performance as a Unitarian minister, Rev. Wilson received an honorary D.D. degree from Meadville Theological School, Chicago, in June 1949. Dr. Wilson continued as minister through July 1949, resigning in order to accept a position as executive director of the American Humanist Association at Yellow Springs, Ohio, near the campus of Antioch College.¹² Wilson became their first full-time salaried director and continued in his role as editor of *The Humanist*. The president of the American Humanist Association, justifying his action in enticing Wilson away from being a Unitarian minister, said that "under Wilson's competent and energetic leadership the American Humanist Association can become a great force in America for freedom, reason, and human progress."¹³

For the remainder of 1949 while the pulpit committee was searching for a suitable candidate to take the place of Dr. Wilson, various University of Utah faculty and scholars in

¹¹ Ms 508, Bx 42, Fd 13.

¹² Charles H. Lyttle, *Freedom Moves West: A History of the Western Unitarian Conference, 1852-1952* (Boston: The Beacon Press, 1952), 258.

¹³ Curtis W. Reese, Letter to John P. Shefke, 28 February 1949, located in Ms 508, Bx 42, Fd 13.

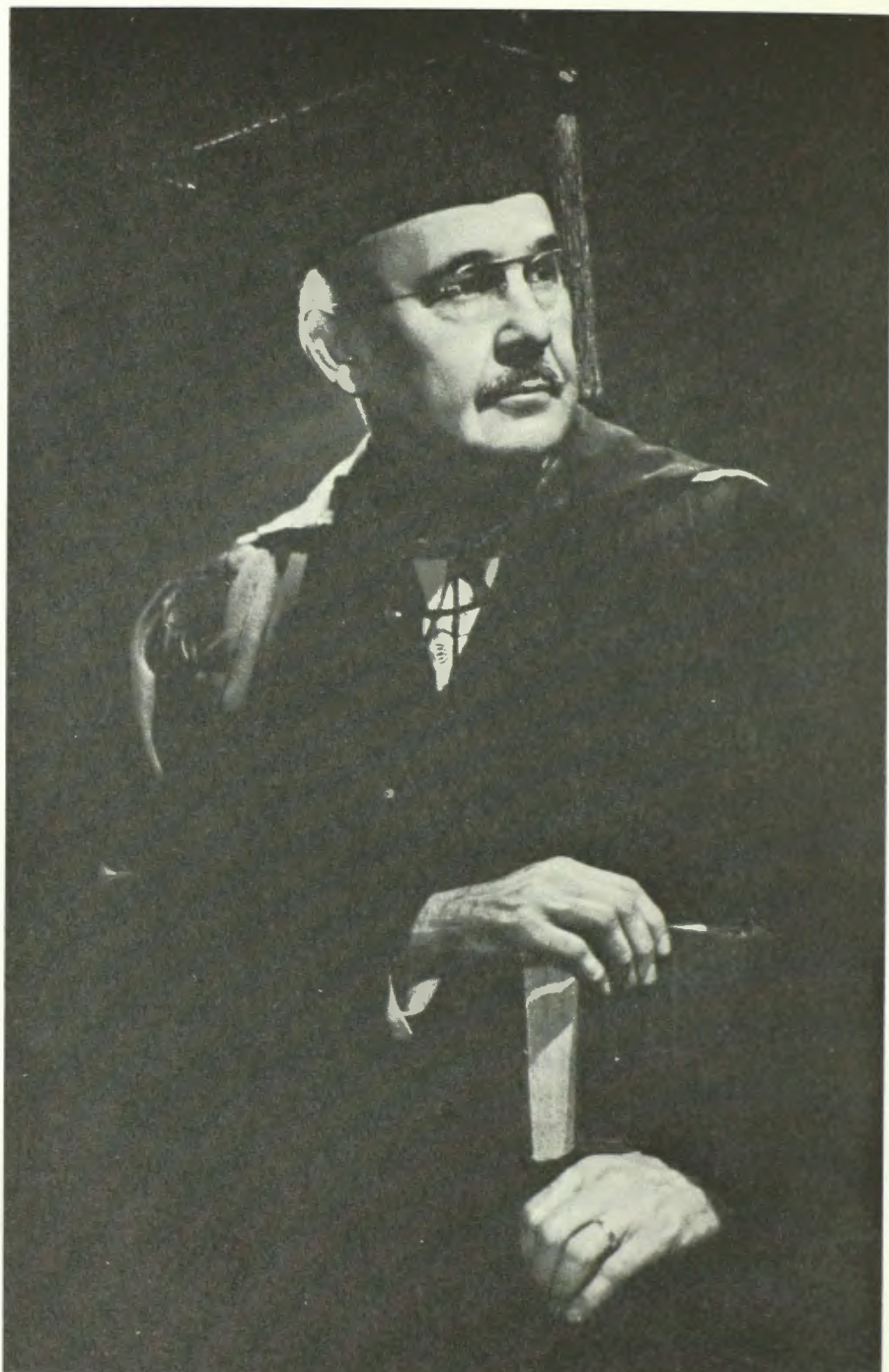
the local community were invited to preach sermons to the local congregation on Sunday mornings, including Waldemer P. Read, M. R. W. Leigh, Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, Preston D. Richards, David R. Trevithick, H. Grant Ivins, Leonard H. Kirkpatrick, and James L. Jarrett.

At the annual congregational meeting in January 1950, which was conducted by Sidney E. Gilchrist, Dr. Harold Scott was called to be the minister. Harold Scott, who had already been a minister for thirty-six years, had previously served in churches in St. Johnsbury, Vermont, Camp Hill, Alabama, Denver and Ft. Collins, Colorado, Flint, Michigan, and Worcester, Massachusetts. He received his B.S. and M.S. degrees from the Alabama Polytechnic Institute at Auburn, Alabama, in 1931 and 1932, and his Th.M. and Th.D. in New Testament studies from the Iliff Graduate School of Theology at Denver, Colorado, in 1935 and 1938.

Dr. Scott tells how new ideas opened up to him during his graduate study of the New Testament:

It was as though the centuries were turned back and I was witnessing first hand the dramas of the times of the gospels and the early church. There was no question in what I would specialize. This to me unknown new field of New Testament seemed what I had been hunting for all my life. Books and books and books in the field and I had not known they existed. I burned with desire to equip myself to tell the world these new exciting facts about the origin and development of the Christian religion. Why were not all preachers telling the people? . . . Well, later I sadly learned that most church people don't give a hoot in hell about the origin, development, and validity of their religion. If pressed they say with a pious smirk that it came from the Bible and the Bible came from God. People profess a great love and reverence for the Bible but it is mostly pious hypocrisy. . . . ¹⁴

¹⁴ Harold Scott, "Excuse Me, Parson," 175–76, unpublished autobiography, located in Ms 508, Bx 43, Fd 8.



Because of a bad experience in a former church, Scott expressed the following about the relationship of Unitarian ministers to their congregations:

Fortuitous circumstance or luck play a huge part in getting pastorates. Too often to be comforting dull men are carried to high position while brilliant men labor in the valley or leave the work for social service or other non-church work. . . . In the ministry a turn of the wheel takes a man to the top and another to the bottom without too much regard to achievement or intellect. If anything the scales are weighted on the side of the dull, safe, conventional man whose homiletic basket is full of banalities, for which there is always a brisk demand among church people.¹⁵

Dr. Scott and his wife, Phebe, began his Salt Lake ministry in February 1950. The weekly church newsletter, beginning with the issue of 21 May 1950, became known as the *Ram's Horn*, which title was based on the Biblical story in which seven priests went around the city of Jericho seven times blowing seven trumpets of rams' horns, which (along with the shouts of the people) caused the city wall to collapse (Joshua 5:13–6:27). This issue also started displaying on the masthead the symbol of a thinker and a microscope surrounded by a circle. Scott explained that "the Circle stands as always for the universe or humanity or universal religion. The Microscope and the Thinker for science and philosophy or perhaps better, experimentation and contemplation."¹⁶ As well as providing news and information on upcoming events, Scott usually wrote for the *Ram's Horn* an editorial on a current social or moral issue as well as one or two short, witty statements. As a miniature spin-off of the adult newsletter, the Religious Education Department published the weekly *Lamb's Flute* for the Sunday School children.

¹⁵ Scott, "Excuse Me," 227, located in Ms 508, Bx 43, Fd 8.

¹⁶ Ms 508, Bx 103, Fd 1.



RAM'S HORN

FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY

HAROLD SCOTT, Th. D.
PASTOR

Phone 4-3436

569 SOUTH 13TH EAST STREET

SALT LAKE CITY 2, UTAH

No. 1

Vol. 1

1950

No. 1

Next Sunday will be pre-Memorial Sunday. Therefore we must postpone our Sunday the last presentation in the series on What Can A Person Believe? But don't step away. The sermon will not be platitudes. The presentation is important. It will be

"THREE REVOLUTIONS"

We shall be honored by the presence of the Women's Relief Corps. Miss Irene Duncan will sing.

Church Register

Married, May 19, 1950, Harold Brown, M.D., and Norma Cranney

Dismissed by request, May 9, 1950, Mrs. Stanley Ray Newman (Mary Joann Meila)

Our New Publication

We used up the old Newsletter headings as a matter of economy. As a matter of economy we resort to cheaper paper. This is 20 lb. substance which in colors gets us by and enables us to attempt a weekly sheet. There are other advantages in color expounded whenever the esoterics of publicity are discussed.

Our Name

The story of the Ram's Horn is told in Joshua 5:13-6:27. Do read it. Joshua is one of the books in the Old Testament in case you don't know. The name was suggested by Lindsey B. Leagacre Ph.D., professor emeritus of Old Testament at Cliff School of Theology, Denver.

Our Symbol

The publicity committee has adopted the symbol you see on our masthead to tie together all our printed matter. The circle stands as always for the universe or humanity or universal religion. The microscope and The Thinker for science and philosophy or perhaps better, experimentation and contemplation. One person saw it and exclaimed, "Oh good, man under the microscope." Symbolism means what you make it mean.

Church Membership

Those people who have signed applications for membership in the First Unitarian Society in 1950 or have not signed the church register will be received into membership Sunday. Parents and god-parents may place infants in the care of the church and observe the public baptism of June Sunday, June 11. We need full name, birth date, and full names of both parents. Call Mrs. Walter L. Love (9-1809) or Mrs. Harold Scott (9-5415).

Financial Convince Next Sunday

If you are not a student or an invalid, or indigent, and live in Salt Lake City or environs, and receive this issue of the Ram's Horn, you will be called upon next Sunday afternoon by a representative of this society to extend to you the greetings of the church and to receive your financial pledge. These callers are donating their services. Please help them by staying in until after they have called. If you have to be out-of-town, make your pledge next Sunday morning to N. H. Cranney or Warner P. Jerrill, or make some other arrangement so you won't have to be chased. This is a big job and no always workers are the busy people.

The People Concerned

We welcome all members of the church record, parents of church school children, former subscribers we hope will be members, friends of our movement and for good reasons cannot join us, members of auxiliaries, and others who participate with us in work, worship, and play. If you are not at all interested

LAMBS' FLUTE

THE FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY RELIGIOUS EDUCATION NEWS

Everett Frost
Student Editor

555 South 11th East
Salt Lake City, Utah

"Kah is born with rainbows in his heart

And you'll never read him unless you consider the rainbows.

Carl Smith

Vol. 2, No. 4

Feb. 1, 1954

Worship Service will be held, as usual, next Sunday Feb. 5, at 11:00 a.m. in Eliot Hall, under the direction of Church School superintendent, Mr. Florian Wineriter. Minute biographies of famous Americans who were also Unitarians are being continued. Thomas Paine was the subject last Sunday. January 15th Susan DiVean gave an excellent report on Benjamin Franklin.

Mr. Wineriter requests children please, please remember to come down the back stairs as quietly as possible. Adults are sometimes still attending services in the chapel.

CLASS REPORTS

Grade I Teacher reports: We planted a hyacinth bulb and kept it in the basement. Now we have it in our room and are waiting for it to bloom. We made gingerbread cookies and served them to the babies and the Kindergarteners. We want to make Valentine's cookies soon. We are reading a story about Chi-wa.

Grade II We are having a Bible story every week. Our class has been having Orby animal stories, too. There was one about dogs, birds, chickens, kangaroos, and some others. We are planning to have a Valentine party.

Pauline Forsberg

Grade III The third grade is having a new teacher. Her name is Mrs. Mitchell (Mrs. S. V. Mitchell). And also we have a boy girl. Her name is Julie Jarrett. Mrs. Mitchell has read stories from the library. The first one she read was "The Best House in the World". And the next she read was "The Lazy Little Weaver".

Margery Black

Grade IV We are reading "Beginnings of Life and Death". And so far we have read the stories about African Bushmen, California Indians, Ancient Egypt, Guatemala, Zuni Indians from New Mexico. The best story we like was the Zuni Indians.

Susan Wineriter

Bob Johnson is a new student in Grade IV. Welcome!

Grades V and VI Teacher, Mrs. Sarah Kline, wishes to compliment her students on their behavior last Sunday when they visited the Temple B'nai Israel, 242 South 4th East. They attended and all were courteous, quiet and attentive and Mrs. Kline was very proud.

In addition, Rev. Scott gave 182 Sunday morning radio addresses, which spanned five years and were broadcast over eight radio stations. The theme music for these broadcasts was "No Man is an Island" and they characteristically began and ended with the epigram: "A great many people are Unitarians and do not know it." His radio ministry became very popular and was supported by a Dollar-A-Month subscription from listeners. In January 1960 Dr. Scott reported 185 subscriptions to the Dollar-A-Month Club for a total of \$1,514, total receipts of \$1,927, and total expenditures at \$2,028.¹⁷ As an illustration of how people from all walks of life listened to these broadcasts, Scott's daughter remembers that their family physician, a devout Irish Catholic, postponed his weekly ski trips during the winter until after hearing Scott's radio sermons.¹⁸

Rev. Harold Scott had a great impact on his radio and congregational audiences. Florien Wineriter, who served as president of the board from 1968 to 1969 and in 1971, describes the first time he attended a Unitarian meeting and heard Dr. Scott preach a sermon:

I was quite surprised to hear a religious leader say in essence that God was not a personification of man, that God perhaps was the dominant phase of the universe, as Harold Scott used to be fond of saying. And it was still a mystery as to what this dominant force might be. . . . It was so impressive when I heard Harold Scott in the Unitarian church saying, "Those people who tell you that God is six foot tall, has gray hair and blue eyes and wears a size ten shoe and sticks his finger down at earth and manipulates the lives of man — I tell you there is no such God."¹⁹

¹⁷ Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 13.

¹⁸ Phebe M. Scott, Letter to Stan Larson, 16 July 1990.

¹⁹ Florien Wineriter Interview, U-999, Accession 814.

Rev. Scott had a good sense of humor, and his autobiography, which he wrote while in Salt Lake City, contains numerous witty remarks and humorous incidents. He tells about one of his prayers:

Once I was as nearly embarrassed as I ever get. A visitor to the church wrote me a note complaining she couldn't hear all the prayer. I replied that in my church, prayers were addressed to deity from whom to date I had received no complaints. The Associated Press sent out both notes and newspapers all over the country carried the story. Clergymen, who as a rule have no sense of humor, at least in public, made my mail large for weeks.²⁰

Dr. Scott suffered a severe heart attack on 21 December 1957 and was finally allowed to leave the hospital one month later. During his recovery, guest speakers took care of the Sunday sermons through June 1958. These included Edna Bruner, William Bulkley, Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, Truman O. Driggs, Frank E. Dubby, Jr., Victor V. Goff, Jessie Greenhalgh, Carroll P. Hurd, Edwin F. Irwin, George Kubo, Don Mayhew, William Mulder, William W. Newby, Jennings G. Olson, Alonzo M. Ormsby, Rabbi Mordecai Podet, Harold Schmidt, Elmer R. Smith, Obert C. Tanner, and Carroll A. Whitmer. Dr. Scott and his wife, Phebe, spent the summer months at Schenectady, New York, and then he resumed preaching in September 1958. A special hospital fund was established in which contributions were received from members to cover Dr. Scott's hospital expenses. At the beginning of 1960 the balance in this fund was \$1,452.

At the annual business meeting of 29 January 1960 it was noted that the previous year they had received forty new members, that the expenses were \$14,859, and that the

²⁰ Scott, "Excuse Me," 189, located in Ms 508, Bx 43, Fd 8.

minister's salary was \$5,200 (exclusive of the manse, car, travel allowances, social security, and employment insurance). Alan Tanner reported that they had dissolved the Channing Club and formed it anew as The Free Mind Forum. The congregation gave a vote of thanks to the Women's Alliance for the dinner served and to Leon Ward for furnishing the coffee at the Sunday coffee hour.²¹

Scott left Salt Lake City in June 1960 to become minister of the old Congregational-Unitarian Church in Harvard, Massachusetts, which had been organized in 1732, and then moved to the almost as old Congregational-Unitarian Church at Kennebunk, Maine.

During the interim period after Rev. Scott's departure, Carl E. Link, president of the board of trustees, was the figurehead of the Unitarians. Speakers for the Sunday services consisted of visiting speakers from the University of Utah and the local community, including Jack Adamson, Josiah Bartlett, M. Lynn Bennion, John Brigham, Rabbi E. Louis Cardon, J. Allen Crockett, Claude W. Dalley, Victor V. Goff, Robert Kadesch, Jennings Olsen, Alonzo M. Ormsby, Robert Travers, and Carroll A. Whitmer.

V

The Last Three Decades 1961–1991

AT THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING in January 1961 it was reported that there were forty-five new members during the previous year and the proposed budget for 1961 was \$33,201, with \$12,000 projected to be expended for the minister.¹ The average attendance at the regular Sunday services was 132. At this time the Sunday School enrollment for the children was 190, with an average attendance of 120.

In March 1961 the ministerial search committee announced it had asked Rev. Thomas J. Maloney of Boulder, Colorado, to speak on 16 and 23 April 1961, and he delivered candidating sermons at the appointed times. His concerns over the prospective salary were finally resolved with an agreement of \$9,600, plus a \$300 housing allowance. However, selection by the search committee or the board of trustees did not mean an automatic appointment as a minister, since at the congregational meeting on 6 May 1961 Rev. Maloney was rejected, receiving less than the required two-thirds majority.²

Hugh W. Gillilan was chosen as the next minister, after a successful candidating week from 17 to 25 June 1961. Though Rev. Maloney had been offered \$9,600, the salary

¹ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 27 January 1961, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 14.

² See Schedule of Events, 27 March 1961, 17 April 1961, 7 May 1961, located in Ms 508, Bx 104, Fd 6, and Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 28 and 30 April 1961, located in Ms 508, Bx 3, Fd 17.

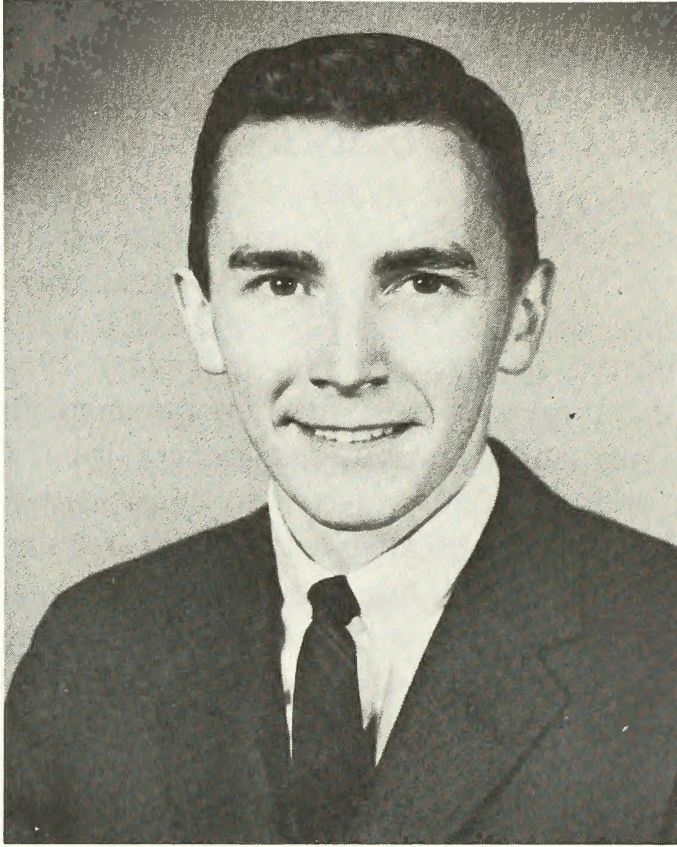


Fig. 47. Hugh W. Gillilan, 1961 to 1969. Marriott Library

offered to Gillilan was \$8,500 and he accepted that amount.³ Rev. Gillilan received an A.B. degree in English from Ohio University at Athens, Ohio, in 1955, a B.D. degree from Garrett Theological Seminary at Evanston, Illinois, in 1959, and the same year an M.A. degree in pastoral psychology and counseling from Northwestern University, also at Evanston, Illinois. He completed a special twelve-week session in Clinical Pastoral Training at Cook County Hospital in Chicago,

³ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 9 and 23 June 1961, located in Ms 508, Bx 3, Fd 17.

and was a group worker and sex education instructor at the Association for Family Living at Chicago, Illinois, from 1958 to 1959. Rev. Gillilan served as associate minister in the Ridgewood Methodist Church in Parma, Ohio, from 1959 to 1961, but it was not a particularly pleasant experience, because he realized that he was “no longer thinking and feeling and believing as Methodists typically do.”⁴

Rev. Gillilan with his wife, Janet, and two small children, came as minister to Salt Lake City in July 1961. It was Rev. Gillilan who started the present church newsletter, *The Torch*, with its first issue coming forth on 6 September 1961.

During the General Assembly in May 1961 the American Unitarian Association merged with the Universalist Church of America (which traditionally proclaimed a universal salvation for all after death as opposed to a “hellfire and damnation” for the wicked) to form the Unitarian Universalist Association. The Salt Lake Unitarians also decided on a change of name, for after seventy years of being known officially as “The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City,” some members felt that the term “church” would have a more religious connotation. At the meeting of the board of trustees on 5 January 1962 it was mentioned that letters had been received from Helen LeCheminant and Alla N. Mulhall, in which they proposed a resolution to change the name of the organization from society to church. As a result, at the annual meeting on 26 January 1962 Gilbert Howard, vice president of the board of trustees, asked those present to read the proposed constitutional amendment, which, if adopted, would make the change. After reading and discussion, a secret ballot was conducted and fifty-three votes were in favor of the amendment, while eighteen were against it. Since this

⁴ Hugh Gillilan Interview, U-1055, Accession 814.

THE TORCH

September 6, 1961

Vol. 1, No. 1

CALENDAR OF EVENTS

Wed.	Sept. 6	7:30 P.M. Painting party at the church.
Thurs.	Sept. 7	7:00 P.M. Music Committee at Church
		8:00 P.M. Choir practice.
Fri.	Sept. 8	8:00 P.M. Trustees meet.
Sun.	Sept. 10	10:45 Church School.
		11:00 Morning Service.
		Sermon: "For Us Persons Are Foremost."
Coming Up		
Wed.	Sept. 13	1:00 P.M. Alliance.

phone calls and other business matters during these hours.

YOUR MINISTRY AGAIN...

Our Services commence this Sunday, Sept. 10, 11:00 a.m. The sermon topic will be "For Us Persons Are Foremost".

Please Note. The new hour for church school will be 10:45 a.m.

YOUR MINISTRY IS AVAILABLE...

Whenever there is need but regularly at the church from 8:30 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. weekdays and afternoons weekdays, contact one of the office calling or attending to relevant matters outside the church. Please remember that your minister is utterly deficient in extra sensory perception regarding your sicknesses, emotional wounds, or other personal concerns. He must notify him of such occurrences and he will without fail call upon you. He will try to visit Saturday as his "day of rest" with naive optimism.

MINUTE...

A number of men with average manual dexterity who could make an invaluable contribution to our building program. These men are last seen attending services last spring, golfing, and vacationing. Armed with hammers, saws, and paint brushes, these men can be most dangerous in assaulting innocent building materials accumulated at the church. If you know the whereabouts of these men do not call the local P.M.I. office, but do notify Sheriff Hiram Mills (alias Building Expansion Committee Chair.) or better yet, bring these men in person to the church each Saturday for a day of hard (but rewarding) labor. Sheriff Mills reports that the following men and boys have been apprehended and duly applied to the building trade this past summer: Walter Belden, Alan Field, Oscar Hendrickson, Fred Jurasek, Carl Link, Gilbert Howard, Al Moffett, Jimmie Moffett, Grant Soule, Robert Stainbrook, Bill Stewart, and Carroll Whitmer. If any names have escaped detection, our apologies. To all these persons our sincere thanks.

THE NEWSLETTER OF THE FIRST UNITARIAN SOCIETY
560 South 13th East Street
SALT LAKE CITY 2, UTAH

Office Phone
EM 4-5436

Helen W. Gilliland
Minister

From "Not Reported"

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The Torch

Let the Torch be lifted up
giving light to all men.

INTRODUCING...

The Torch. Our new medium for communication of news of our Church and the significant events encompassing the lives of our members. It is our hope that the **Torch** will always be informative, interesting, and above all, a means of strengthening the fellowship of our Society. All items to be printed in the **Torch** should be submitted to the church office by 9:00 a.m. Monday of each week.

INTRODUCING ALSO...

Mrs. Stella Smothers who will be our new church secretary. Mrs. Smothers and her family have lived in Salt Lake City for the past seven years, having previously lived in Albuquerque, New Mexico., and prior to that location Mrs. Smothers claims England as her native home. She brings not only a delightful English accent and a warm personality to our office, but also the insight of a mother of two teenage daughters, and a background of experience in a business college, four years of service with the Telephone Co., and secretarial assistance to her husband who is a Manufacturers Representative. Mrs. Smothers will be in the office each weekday from 8:30 a.m. to 12:30 P.M. and we encourage your

exceeded the necessary two-thirds majority, the change in name was adopted and the official name became “The First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City.”⁵

During Gillilan’s ministry the local Unitarians sponsored such activities and programs as “encounter” groups, book groups, the Community Cooperative Nursery School, and a church choir. Hugh Gillilan was also actively involved in the American Civil Liberties Union. In 1962 Dr. Robert L. Conrod, a board member, discussed sponsorship of a proposed home for the aged, which would operate on a cost basis, backed by the federal government. With the leadership of Rev. Gillilan, who worked with three other local denominations, this idea came to fruition in Friendship Manor, Salt Lake City’s first retirement home.⁶ At the end of 1962 Rev. Gillilan surveyed the year and recalled that a teenage member was disturbed when her junior high school history teacher made unfounded statements that the Unitarian church was “a haven for Communists.” Rev. Gillilan suggested that responses to such public charges be made with calmness and maturity.

When the nation was stunned by the assassination of President John F. Kennedy, Rev. Gillilan consoled the congregation at the memorial service on 24 November 1963 with the following words:

It is for us to reaffirm that friendliness and sympathy for our fellow man which now as always remain the foundation stone of the good society; to resolve anew to bend our minds and energies toward the pursuit of truth, the creation of beauty, and the freedom and welfare of all persons regardless of the accidents of race, creed,

⁵ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 26 January 1962, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 14.

⁶ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 5 January 1962, located in Ms 508, Bx 3, Fd 17, and Hugh Gillilan Interview, U-1055, Accession 814.

⁷ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 31 January 1963, located in Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 14.

Unitarianism in Utah

or nation of birth. May goodwill prevail within our borders, may our present anguish not turn to vengeance, and may insight and compassion provide light unto our feet. . . . For the best of all responses to death is the wholehearted and continuing affirmation of life on behalf of the greater glory of mankind and in honor of the one in whose name we have gathered for these few moments of recollection.⁸

In 1964 the membership reached 500, which was a twelve percent increase from the previous year. The popularity of Gillilan's sermons necessitated having two sessions of the Sunday worship service — one at 10:00 A.M. and one at 11:30 A.M.⁹

At the annual congregational meeting on 22 January 1965, Elizabeth Epler, who was a Unitarian on the Civil Rights Coordinating Committee, moved that the church "reaffirm their belief in the right of all persons regardless of race, creed, and color to have equal opportunity for access to public accommodation, employment, and decent housing." This motion was passed.¹⁰

Richard Harris, an intern minister from the Starr King School (before August 1941 known as the Pacific Unitarian School for the Ministry) at Berkeley, came in September 1965, with his wife, Sharon. Harris came to assist Rev. Gillilan, who was conducting two services every Sunday. Harris also worked at the Community Action Program, and left Salt Lake City in August 1966.

The highlight of 1966 was the celebration in early March of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of the church. Unitarians at the fellowships in Provo, Ogden, Brigham City,

⁸ The Torch 3 (26 November 1963): 1, located in Ms 508, Bx 105, Fd 3.

⁹ Verna Roberts Jorgensen Collection, Accession 1156, Bx 1, Fd. 2, located in Special Collections, J. Willard Marriott Library, University of Utah, Salt Lake City.

¹⁰ Ms 508, Bx 9, Fd 15.

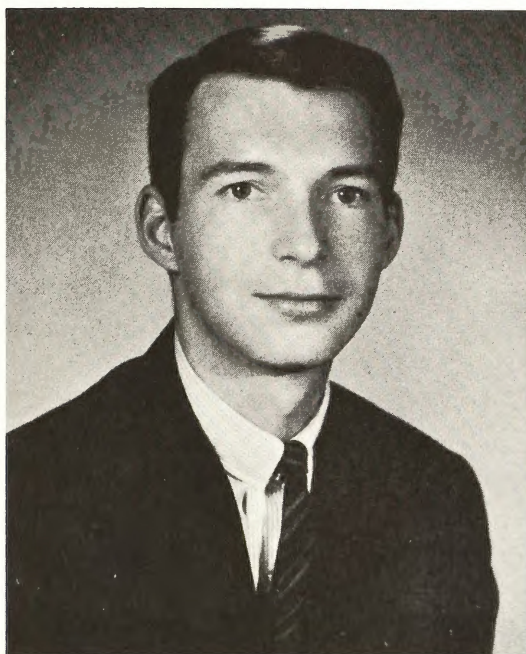


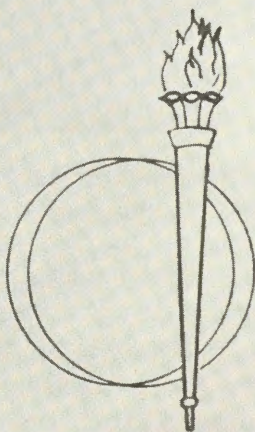
Fig. 49. Richard Harris, 1965 to 1966. Marriott Library

and Boise, Idaho, were invited. A Diamond Jubilee Banquet was held at the Lafayette Ballroom of the Hotel Utah on Friday, 4 March 1966, with Rev. Jacob Trapp as a guest speaker. Also, a Candlelight Reception was held at the church on Sunday, 6 March 1966.

Hugh Gillilan articulated his philosophy of what Unitarianism means to him:

Unitarianism reflects a great amount of freedom of belief. The non-doctrinaire quality has always been very appealing to me. I think for me Unitarianism is not something that I have to put on or take off. It just is inherent in my overall value system. It does not require subscribing to specific tenets. There are some broad,

THE FIRST 75 YEARS



1891 - 1966

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I think, mandates to use our minds to the best of our ability, to pursue the marketplace of ideas, to look for truth wherever it can be found, to be of service to our fellow man, and to make the most of our life that's given to us.¹¹

During the decade of the 1960s Rev. Gillilan remained very busy and by 1969 was suffering a degree of ministerial burnout. In 1968 he had quietly candidated at Unitarian churches in Baltimore and Philadelphia. Though Gillilan was very popular and the membership had dramatically increased, it began to plateau out. The last straw for him was when the Ministerial Relations Committee complained that he was not doing enough to maintain good relations with certain affluent people in the church, coupled with the denial of his request for a three-month paid sabbatical leave.¹²

After leaving the Unitarian ministry in August 1969, Rev. Gillilan became assistant professor of Psychology and a college counselor at Westminster College in Salt Lake City. Gillilan received a Ed.D. from the Department of Educational Psychology of the University of Utah in June 1970, writing his doctoral dissertation on a subject close to his personal experience — "A Study of Former Unitarian Universalist Parish Ministers."

The ministerial mantle next passed to Michael F. Cunningham. In the late 1950s he spent two years preparing for the Catholic priesthood in the Trappist Monastery of Our Lady of New Melleray, Dubuque, Iowa, but left to become a nurse. In 1961 he graduated from St. Lukes Hospital School of Nursing in Duluth, Minnesota, and from 1961 to 1963 worked as a staff registered nurse in the Department of Psychiatry at St.

¹¹ Hugh Gillilan Interview, U-1055, Accession 814.

¹² Hugh Gillilan Interview, U-1055, Accession 814.

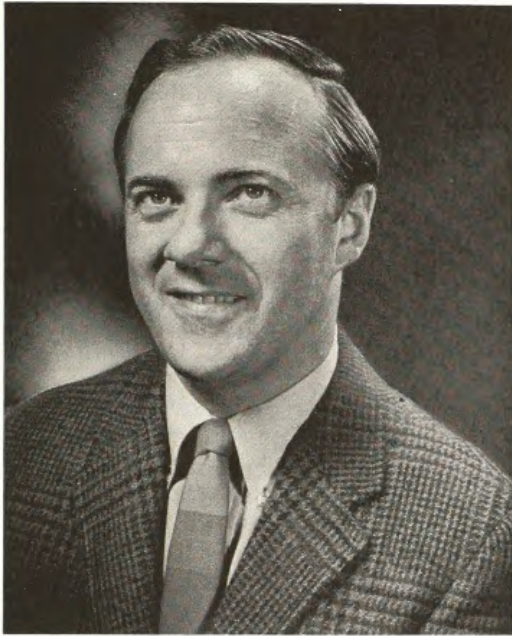


Fig. 52. Michael F. Cunningham, 1969 to 1970. Marriott Library

Mary's Hospital in the same city. In 1963 Cunningham graduated from the University of Minnesota with a B.S. degree in English and taught as an English teacher at Hibbing High School in Hibbing, Minnesota, from 1963 to 1964. During the summer of 1965 Cunningham participated in the Inner-City Ministry of the North Side of Chicago, working full-time with Dr. Martin Luther King and James Bevel of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. He received his D.Min. from the Meadville Theological School of Lombard College at the University of Chicago in 1968. His doctoral dissertation on "Conversion in American Unitarianism" covered the period from its Calvinistic New England begin-

nings to the mid-twentieth century. Dr. Cunningham was the minister of the First Universalist Church of Meriden, Connecticut, prior to accepting the call to Salt Lake City.

After a successful candidating week in June 1969, Dr. Cunningham, with his wife, Geraldine, and their three sons, began what would be only a one-year ministry in mid-August 1969. It was an eventful year in which he emphasized the need to leave a comfortable status quo and enter into confrontation with the serious social and political problems of the day. Dr. Cunningham tried to achieve greater congregational participation by rearranging the benches in a semicircular formation, but this proved unfeasible. Another effort to involve the members was the wine-sharing ritual during the Thanksgiving service on Sunday, 23 November 1969, in which at three times during the service each member of the congregation drank from their cup of wine.

His intense interest in social action had an impact both on the Unitarian congregation and the local community. Dr. Cunningham instituted a relief fund to which members and friends were asked to contribute on a monthly basis so that he would have money available to help in a small way those who came to the church requesting assistance. At the time of his resignation he told one parishioner that she had been the only person maintaining a monthly contribution during the entire period. Rev. Cunningham had an Abortion Counseling Service, and a Planned Parenthood Clinic had its start in Eliot Hall. He championed the cause of minority groups and invited representatives from local Mexican-American and Black groups in the Central City area to speak at open forums.¹³ In 1969 the Salt Lake Acting Company also began

¹³ Virginia Picht Interview, conducted by Marilyn Redd, Utah State Historical Society, located in Ms 508, Bx 73, Fd 2.

at Eliot Hall, under the direction of Edward T. Gryska, with Megan Terry's play "Viet Rock," which was an anti-Vietnam War rock musical. The group had earlier received permission to use a school in the Salt Lake School District, as long as certain words were censored and certain scenes cut. After a few weeks of practice, they were (without any explanation being offered) denied any further use of the school. Somewhat frantic and willing to make any adjustments required, Gryska talked to Dr. Cunningham about using Eliot Hall in the Unitarian church. Cunningham's reply was that such an arrangement would be acceptable with one condition — that they reinstate everything that had been censored. Elated at this pleasant reversal, the performance went ahead as planned.

The most controversial and divisive issue espoused by Rev. Cunningham was the resolution to provide symbolic sanctuary in the church building for Vietnam War draft resisters. The previous year at the May 1968 annual general assembly of the Unitarian Universalist Association at Cleveland, Ohio, which Cunningham attended, a resolution to support the draft resistance movement and offer churches as places of sanctuary was passed by an overwhelming majority. The decision was affected by a dramatic announcement during the meeting that the Arlington Street Church in Boston, which had once offered a safe haven to fugitive slaves, had just become the first church to provide sanctuary for draft resisters. By October 1969 the use of Unitarian churches as sanctuaries had spread to California, Hawaii, Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Rhode Island. Mike Cunningham associated himself with the Utah Draft Information and Counseling Service, and explained that "it certainly is more comfortable to keep religion somewhere

other than in the real world with its life and death issues.”¹⁴ In a stirring sermon delivered to the congregation on 19 October 1969, Rev. Cunningham explained what symbolic sanctuary meant:

1. It means community solidarity with a member who has taken his religion seriously and is at the point of moral confrontation with the state.

2. It provides physical sustenance and the moral support of a religious community and breaks down the feeling of isolation felt by persons who make decisions of conscience in a society that does not understand a person who feels it necessary to make such decisions.

3. It gives social meaning to such individual acts by offering the hope of some effectiveness in the community and by providing the individual with an opportunity to raise the issue of conscience in their own words.

4. It offers the last non-violent tactic to oppose the ever-growing military machine in this country.

5. And it tests the reality of the faith in the congregation.¹⁵

Cunningham asked the members to give serious consideration to his proposal and advised that later there would be a special meeting, at which time he would seek a consensus of the congregation on the issue. This motion by Cunningham was passed at a special board of trustees meeting on 23 November 1969 by only a four-to-three vote. At the special congregational meeting on 7 December 1969 the proposal for symbolic sanctuary was presented to the members in two ten-minute presentations—Justin Stewart giving the affirmative side and stating the current violations of the rights of draft resisters and Florian Wineriter, president of the board of trustees, presenting the negative and suggesting that this

¹⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, 11 December 1969, part IX, 5.

¹⁵ Michael F. Cunningham, "Sanctuary: A Stand for Life," 19 October 1969, located in Ms 508, Bx 45, Fd 6.

issue was politically motivated and individuals, not the church, should be involved. When the tellers counted the votes, the motion passed with seventy-five in favor, twenty-five against, and two abstentions.¹⁶ This caused internal conflict among the congregation and resulted in the resignation of board member Robert Young, a great-grandson of Mormon church presidents Brigham Young and Lorenzo Snow, and in the resignation of four members and the reduction of pledges of three other members.¹⁷ As it turned out no one came for sanctuary after it had been duly approved, even though there had been one such request in the spring of 1969 while Gillilan was minister. Although Cunningham's anti-government sermons helped raise the social consciousness of many members, it raised the hackles of others. The discord grew to the point that in May 1970 Dr. Cunningham submitted his resignation, which would take effect on 31 August 1970. At the special congregational meeting in June 1970 to consider this resignation, Justin Stewart, board president, stated that the board had been aware for several months that Cunningham had wanted to leave and had been trying to dissuade him from that decision.¹⁸

Unknown to the congregation Dr. Michael Cunningham had a psycho-sexual condition, known as gender identity dysphoria or transsexualism, by which he felt intensely the anxiety of being a woman locked in a man's body. After struggling with these inner strivings for years, he finally decided to undergo a sex-change operation. Having previously been a nurse, Michael accepted a full-time position as associate professor of nursing at the Westminster College

¹⁶ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 7 December 1969, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 2.

¹⁷ Board of Trustees Meeting Minutes, 7 January 1970, located in Ms 508, Bx 4, Fd 8.

¹⁸ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 7 June 1970, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 3.

of Salt Lake City, where he taught from 1970 to 1971. The next year, when Cunningham had the sex-change surgery, she dropped the "a" in "Michael," and she became known as "Michel" Cunningham. During this time Michel and Geraldine lived as sisters and functioned as two mothers to their boys, but this arrangement did not prove satisfactory and Michel moved to Chicago. A fellow teacher of nursing at Westminster College reports a happy ending to Cunningham's agony of identity, for she had an unexpected visit in 1976 from Michel Cunningham, who appeared to be a cheerful and well-adjusted woman.

During the interim period, Rev. Jacob Trapp, who had retired at the beginning of 1970, returned to Salt Lake City after almost thirty years and filled the pulpit from 13 September to 4 October 1970.

The ministerial search committee proposed Rev. Ronald Clark as the new minister, and a special congregational meeting was called in November 1970 to vote on this candidate. There were 127 voting members in attendance, which was more than the fifteen percent or fifty-four members required by the bylaws. The salary package for the prospective minister was \$13,000 per year, plus two months vacation during July and August as well as one month per year in accrued sabbatical leave. The secret ballot was counted with ninety-nine votes in favor of Clark and twenty-eight against, which translates to seventy-eight percent in favor. Ron Clark had hoped for an eighty or eighty-five percent plurality, but this vote was acceptable to him.¹⁹

¹⁹ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 1 November 1970, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 3.

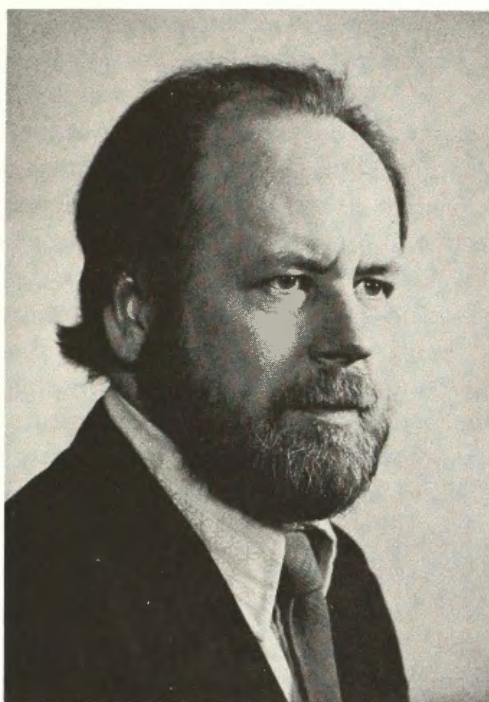


Fig. 53. Ronald E. Clark, 1971 to 1976. Martin Zwick

At the annual congregational meeting, which was held on the last day of January 1971, it was reported that the membership in Utah was 348, with thirty-eight out of the state. During the last year there were forty-nine new members, while there were 102 members lost, because in January 1970 the membership lists had been cleared of those who were inactive. The average attendance for the Sunday services was 186. The Sunday School had 145 pupils registered, with an average attendance of seventy-five to eighty children. The estimated income for 1971 was

\$34,450, but the estimated expenses were \$38,145, and with a fifteen percent default from the amounts pledged, the deficit would be about \$7,200. The budget was not approved at this time, and the treasurer was given permission to function under an interim budget until another congregational meeting in March 1971. At that time the final budget of \$41,323 was proposed, and the motion passed unanimously.²⁰

Ronald E. Clark received a B.S. degree from Purdue University in 1959. He worked as an electronics officer in the U.S. Air Force from 1959 to 1962. For the next three years he worked as chief of the Engineering Branch at Edwards Air Force Base, and during this time he was active in the Antelope Valley Unitarian Universalist Fellowship in Lancaster, California. Ron Clark received a B.D. degree from Starr King School for the Ministry in 1968. He served as assistant minister at Syracuse, New York, from 1968 to 1970, before coming to Salt Lake City in February 1971 with his wife, Sharon.

Rev. Clark started the extended family program, the basic idea of which was to encourage families voluntarily to reach out and include others in their normal family relationships. Ideally there would be several extended families in the church and each extended family would have several "normal" families in them. A good mix would include older couples, older singles, younger couples, younger singles, and a few children. Application forms for the extended family program were sent out with *The Torch*, and applicants were divided anonymously into groups of approximately twelve adults. Each member was to commit for three months, and after that time the commitment could be renewed, ended, or perhaps

²⁰ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 31 January and 28 March 1971, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 3.

transferred. Each gathering of an extended family would be unique to its own members.²¹ This program met with some success.

Rev. Clark also initiated audience groups (in which members would purchase tickets together and attend various plays and concerts), an investment group, and various adult education programs. The “Coffee House” provided musical entertainment — by professionals and amateurs — in Eliot Hall. He started the drive to collect food contributions for the food pantry of the Crossroads Urban Center. With his wife and other local Unitarians, Rev. Clark organized Thoreau School, which was later made a part of the Salt Lake City public school system. On 11 January 1973 he wrote a letter to members in the Ogden area, north of Salt Lake City, requesting them to meet later in the month for the purpose of organizing a Unitarian Universalist Fellowship in Ogden.²²

In order to take some of the load from Rev. Clark, in December 1973 Dr. Dale Johnston, chairman of the Department of Philosophy/Religion at Westminster College, was appointed assistant minister to help perform dedications, weddings, and funerals.²³

On 5 January 1976 Clark sent a letter to “Members and Friends” of the church advising them, “I am both sad and happy to announce that I have been offered and have accepted the position of Director of Extension for the Unitarian Universalist Association.” Included with Ron Clark’s letter was another letter of the same date written by Richard Aaron, president of the board, in which he pointed out that not only was this a distinct honor for Rev. Clark but also “it is a unique

²¹ Ms 508, Bx 106, Fds 2-3.

²² Ron Clark, Letter to Dear Friends, 11 January 1973, located in Ms 508, Bx 45, Fd 7.

²³ The Torch 13 (11 December 1973): 1, located in Ms 508, Bx 106, Fd 3.

opportunity to influence the entire denomination."²⁴ Rev. Clark moved to Boston in February 1976 and continued in that position until 1981, when he transferred to the UUA Church Staff Finance Department. In 1986 he accepted a call from the church in Woburn, Massachusetts, to serve as their minister.

Chris Sampson, president of the board of trustees, coordinated the activities and Sunday services during the interim period from March to December 1976. Some of the speakers during this period were Byron Cannon, Bern Cayce, Alan Coombs, John Fitzgerald, William Hess, Dale Johnston, Laurence D. Loeb, Scott Matheson, C. Russell Neale, Jennings G. Olson, Pam Silvey, M. Neff Smart, and Tom Toon. In reviewing her efforts for nearly a year without a minister, Chris Sampson reported to the congregation as follows:

I feel it has been a good year for the church. We have not lost ground nor stood still without the services of a minister, but have in fact grown, both in quantity and, I feel, in quality. . . . It has been my pleasure to be associated with a Board that has worked hard and willingly to try to serve in the best interests of the Congregation. . . . We have sent representatives including RE [Religious Education] personnel to General Assembly, Area Conferences, and District meetings and made ourselves visible. . . . I would merely like to add that it has been a unique experience to be Board President during a "ministerless" year!²⁵

On the church's eighty-sixth anniversary, the long hoped for plan of establishing the First Unitarian Church Endowment Fund was effected by Justin Stewart, a lawyer by

²⁴ Ron Clark, Letter to Members and Friends of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City, 5 January 1975 [1976], and Richard Aaron, Letter to Dear Friends, 5 January 1976, located in Ms 508, Bx 45, Fd 7.

²⁵ Chris Sampson, "Report from the Board President — 1976," Congregational Meeting Minutes, 21 January 1977, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 6.

profession, along with Florian Wineriter and Joan May. It became a legal entity on 24 February 1977, with a total of \$20 donated by Richard Aaron.²⁶ After one year the amount had risen to \$1,820, and the amount in the endowment has now reached over \$149,000. The interest from this endowment provides needed funds for various church projects.

The search committee, which was headed by Alan Coombs, decided on John Crane as the ministerial candidate, and he was invited to come to Salt Lake City. Crane replied that he was flattered at the offer but needed a little time to consider the matter. Crane called Coombs three days and explained that he had accepted an invitation from the Unitarian church at Golden, Colorado.

About three months later Alan Coombs proposed to the congregation as their new minister the Rev. Richard Henry. Dick Henry received an A.B. degree in Philosophy at Harvard College in 1943, where as an undergraduate he was one of the founders of the Harvard Pacifist Society. By the time of his graduation he decided he must participate in the war somehow—though in a non-combatant role—and agreed with his draft board's suggestion to abandon the idea of driving an ambulance and instead to prepare for a navy chaplaincy. He enrolled at Harvard Divinity School and then transferred to the Union Theological Seminary, where he received a B.D. degree in 1946. In 1970 Rev. Henry received an honorary D.D. degree from Meadville/Lombard Theological School. Henry was a minister at Brooklyn, New York, from 1946 to 1949. In June of 1949 he accepted a call from the Tennessee Valley Unitarian Church in Knoxville, Ten-

²⁶ Endowment Trust Fund Minutes, 24 February 1977, located in Ms 508, Bx 28, Fd 3.

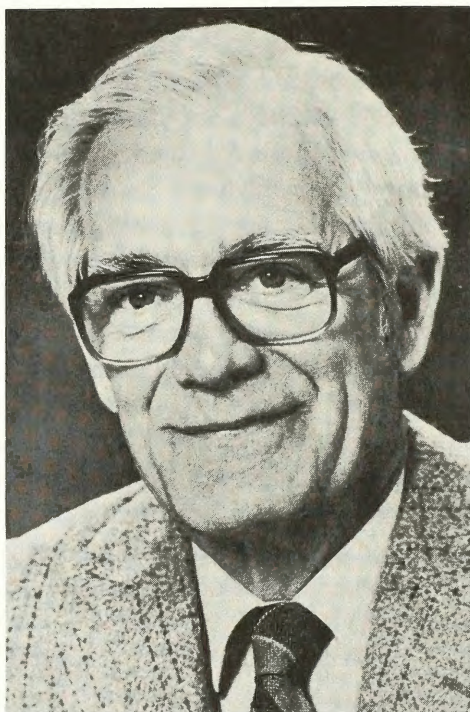


Fig 54. Richard Henry, 1977 to 1986. Martin Zwick

nessee, where he stayed until 1957. While there he assisted in the organization of Fellowship House of Knoxville to improve race relations and, with a Presbyterian woman, organized the Tennessee Mental Health Association. He was the minister of the First Unitarian Church in Denver, Colorado, from 1957 to 1977, and in 1961 at the first meeting of the newly organized Unitarian Universalist Association he was elected to a four-year term on the new board of trustees. On Memorial Day 1971 he (with about thirty

others) was arrested when he marched without a permit as a supporter of the Vietnam Veterans Against the War. In 1975 he spent a five-week period at the Calgary Unitarian church as part of the Minister-on-Loan program. His last two years in Denver were extremely difficult—he had strong differences of opinion with the Religious Education Director, his marriage was troubled, and he was himself going through therapy.²⁷

When Dr. Henry was candidating in May 1977 he and his wife, Helen, came to Salt Lake City. At the end of the candidating week there was a congregational meeting, in which the members accepted him as their new minister with 120 in favor, one negative vote, and one abstention. When the ministerial position was extended to him, he “accepted a call to Salt Lake City, simultaneously asking Helen for a divorce.”²⁸ Rev. Henry began as minister October 1977. Denna Wright, who had been elected as board president in February 1977, capped off her year of service by presiding at the installation of Dr. Henry in January 1978.²⁹ After being single for a year and dating three members of the congregation, in November 1978 Rev. Henry married one of his parishioners, Patricia Peysar Fernandez, who is now a professor of mathematics at Weber State University.

Dorene Gogins, who was board president in 1978, attended the General Assembly in Boston as part of her role as president of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City. Another function she also attended while there was a divinity school graduation and she was deeply impressed with the

²⁷ Richard Henry, “Odyssey,” located in Ms 508, Bx 46, Fd 17.

²⁸ Richard Henry, “Odyssey,” located in Ms 508, Bx 46, Fd 17.

²⁹ Denna Wright Interview, U-1077, Accession 814.

ringing of the bells. Since the church tower in Salt Lake City had been without a bell since its construction in 1926, she and her husband, Laird, decided the church needed a bell and they would donate it. There being no American manufacturers of bells, Dorene Gogins found a bell distributor in San Francisco, from whom she received recorded tapes of different bell tones. These were played at a special congregational meeting so the members could vote on their choice. The bronze bell was cast in Calais, France, and imported into the United States. The installation of the bell was conducted in November 1979, with the little girl in the Sunday School, who named the bell "Isabelle," being the first to ring it.³⁰

For Unitarians Dr. Henry started the January Retreat for board of trustee members and committee chairs, and the all-church October Mill Hollow Retreat. Dr. Henry enjoyed the Christmas Candlelight service, which was based on the Lessons and Carols Service of Cambridge's Kings College. These congregational activities were strong morale builders and helped the members get to know each other better. Rev. Henry loved poetry and many members were touched by his use of poetry in his sermons. Another development during Henry's ministry was the formation by Bob Thurman, who served on the board from 1979 to 1981, of the Discovery Group, which is a social organization for single, widowed, or divorced people.³¹

For the local community Dr. Henry organized "Town Meeting" discussions on issues such as hunger, peace, disarmament, the Equal Rights Amendment, and US-USSR

³⁰ Dorene Gogins Interview, U-1004, Accession 814.

³¹ Bob Thurman Interview, U-1101, Accession 814.

understanding. He served on the board of directors of the Utah Chapter of the Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Due to the influence of Dr. Henry, church members expressed their opposition to nuclear testing at the Nevada Test Site, and many regularly traveled there to demonstrate. Rev. Henry also worked closely with Edwin B. Firmage in a group known as "Utahns United Against the Nuclear Arms Race," serving as one of the organization's board of directors.

At the annual congregational meeting on 10 January 1982 it was reported that sixty-seven people joined during the previous year. The actual budget expenses for 1981 were \$86,234, with pledges in 1981 up twenty-five percent over the previous year. The minister's salary for 1981 (including expenses) was \$29,526. The Women's Alliance reported financial support for the Clara Barton Camp for diabetic children and donations to the Women in Jeopardy program and for a home to be built for unmarried teenage mothers who want to keep their babies. The Religious Education Committee reported that the \$130 derived from the Halloween Carnival and the \$50 which the children collected in small boxes were donated to UNICEF. The year saw the reestablishment of the Social Justice Fund for purposes designated by the congregation, with the first year's contributions going to organizations promoting the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The Public Relations Committee reported that the chapel was used on two evenings a month for town meetings, in order to address public policies that affect the way of life in Salt Lake City.³²

Dick Henry had a five-month sabbatical from the middle of March to the middle of August 1982. A special Sabbatical

³² Congregational Meeting Minutes, 10 January 1982, located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 9.

Committee, chaired by Joan Proctor, was organized to arrange the speakers for the Sunday services during the period of his absence, including Peter Appleby, Rex Campbell, Alan Coombs, Frances Farley, Hugh Gillilan, Russell W. Lockwood, Mary Neuhaus, Eugene Pickett, Stan Richards, Philip Sturgess, and Jacob Trapp.

The church, following Rev. Henry's suggestion, filed an *amicus curiae* brief on the side of Brigham Young University, when the Internal Revenue Service asked for a list of BYU's donors, suspecting that fraudulent claims concerning the worth of their tax-deductible gifts were being made on the part of some of the donors.³³ Henry recalls the incident:

Our position was that [the] IRS' request for all donors amounted to a fishing expedition. Some of our members, particularly ex-LDS ones, were incensed with my initiative in this case, but I was pleased with our congregation's backing the effort, because our support of the principle of privacy of contributor records gave Mormons some indication that we aren't always opposed to their stance in public issues.³⁴

Rev. Dick Henry was the main force for starting the South Valley Unitarian/Universalist Society, which was originally known as the Second Society. To those members who wondered if another Unitarian Society in the Salt Lake Valley would detract from their own, Rev. Henry said: "We need have no fears that its success would diminish our own: precisely the opposite has proven the case everywhere. Each would feed the other. This valley and this state needs a liberal religious movement, not just one UU church!"³⁵

³³ Richard Henry Interview, U-1078, Accession 814.

³⁴ Richard Henry, Letter to Stan Larson, 3 May 1990, emphasis in the original.

³⁵ Richard Henry, "Annual Report of the Minister to the Congregation — 1982," located in Ms 508, Bx 10, Fd 9. For the records of the South Valley Unitarian/Universalist Society, see Accession 1109.

Thomas Yondorf was an intern minister in Salt Lake City from August 1984 to March 1985. During this period he divided his time equally between the First Unitarian Church and the young South Valley Unitarian/Universalist Society, where he first spoke on 9 September 1984.³⁶ When he left in March 1985, he sponsored a fund raiser known as “California Night,” during which he gave his farewell address. He received a D.Min. degree in 1987 from Meadville/Lombard and is presently the minister of the Allen Avenue Unitarian Universalist Church at Portland, Maine.

When Rev. Henry retired in August 1986, the title of “emeritus minister” was bestowed upon him, the first such at the Salt Lake City church. Upon his retirement, Meadville/Lombard Theological School invited him to serve as minister-in-residence for the fall quarter 1986, and then to serve on its search committee for a new dean. During his retirement, Dr. Henry wrote his life story entitled “Odyssey,” in which he reminisced about the intangible rewards of being a Unitarian minister:

I’ve told . . . little about the real heart of a minister’s life, the myriad ways in which one’s deepest springs get fed by witnessing over and over the incomparable nobility of people: people facing tough decisions, tragedy, and death; people making the most of reverses of fortune and coming out triumphantly; people coming into flower from buds you’d given up on or felt would never happen, and yet, warmed by the care of a community of loving folk, realizing powers in themselves even they themselves doubted. You know you did something right, when the son of parents who were in your parish and whose father had shot his mother, then [had] turned the gun on himself and [had] blown his brains out — when that son appears in a congregation twenty-five years later

³⁶ *The Torch* 24 (4 September 1984): 1, located in Ms 508, Bx 107, Fd 8.

to thank you for what you did back then. You're moved when you sit at the bedside of a man dying of cancer and he presses your hand and looks up at you apologetically and says, "I've just got to fight it out one more day, Dick." You're rewarded when you hear that a woman, whose father was an alcoholic and whose mother was such an inadequate parent that the welfare department had placed the children in a foster family, is teaching now at a college on Long Island, and you remember it was your initiative that helped her get her college education. You feel you've not been entirely useless when a woman asks to see you, tells you she's frightened of her husband, and hands you underneath the restaurant table a paper bag with a gun he's threatened her with on several occasions. When you christen the children of a young woman you yourself dedicated thirty years ago, the renewing cycle of the generations comes home to you in a way to make you weep for joy.

To be privileged to know, to work and plan and play and celebrate with people whose dreams and commitments are so rich with promise for the human family as those that Unitarian Universalist people share — and to be paid for it into the bargain! — is surely one of the most rewarding ways imaginable to spend a life. That is the true heart of a UU minister's reward.³⁷

The present minister of the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City is Thomas R. Goldsmith. His father escaped from Hitler's Germany, and Goldsmith grew up as a Unitarian in New York. He received a B.A. degree in 1972 from Queen's College at New York. In 1975 he married Patricia Pecorelli and the same year they both received degrees from Harvard Divinity School, he an M.Div. and she an M.T.S. Rev. Goldsmith was ordained in 1975 and became minister of the First Parish Church in Scituate, Massachusetts, from then until 1977, and at the First Parish Church (Unitarian Universalist) of Waltham, Massachusetts, from 1977 to 1987. Tom Goldsmith was an instructor at Harvard Divinity School from

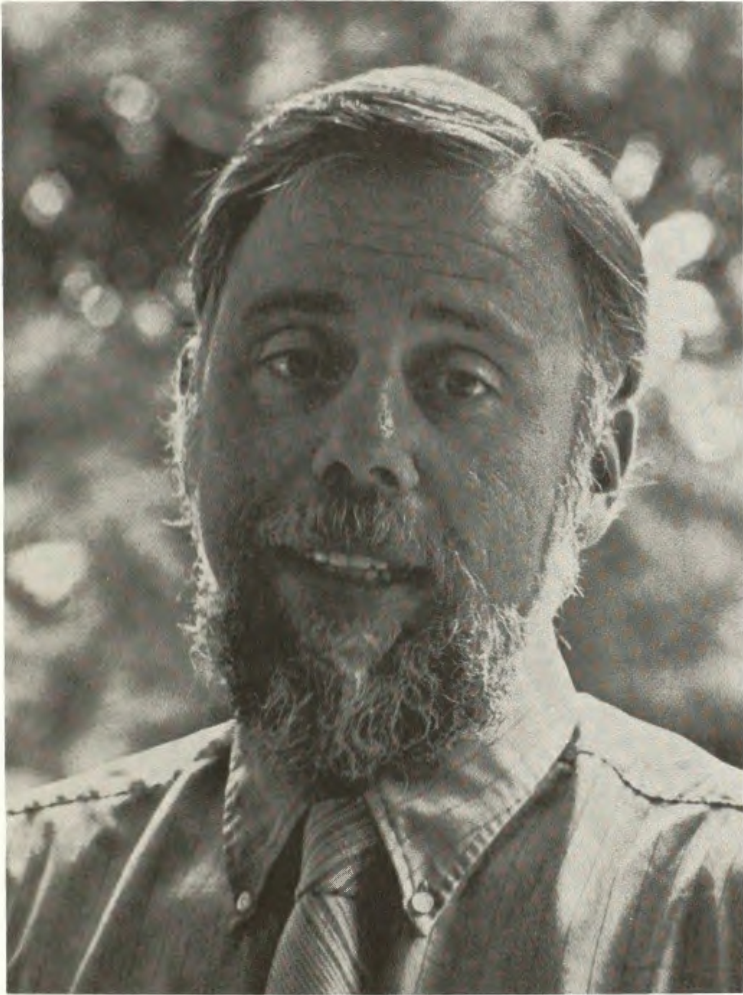


Fig. 55. Thomas R. Goldsmith, 1987 to 1991. Jay Borowczyk

1979 to 1981, co-teaching a class in orientation to the ministry. In 1982 as part of the Minister-on-Loan program, he served in Crown Point, Indiana. He had a spot on Boston radio station WCRV called "To Speak of Many Things" from 1983 to 1984, and wrote a weekly column in *The Boston Herald* from 1984 to 1987.³⁸

Rev. Goldsmith had a successful candidating week in Salt Lake City from 30 November to 7 December 1986 and he began as minister in September 1987, bringing with him his wife and children, Heather and Jesse. He has written numerous articles for the *Deseret News*, *Ogden Standard Examiner*, *Network*, and *Desert Sun*. One of the things about life in Utah that most surprised Rev. Goldsmith, who was well accustomed to living in a minority situation, was the amount of control that the Mormon church held over the society. He explained:

I would imagine Presbyterian Pittsburgh, or Methodist Dallas, or whatever. There is still — at least it was true in Boston — a separation between church and state, a separation between sacred and profane. Perhaps the decision-makers were of one persuasion, but there was still a line that was acknowledged. One lived his secular life any way one wanted. . . . Here [in Utah] the religious bit has really crossed over the line into the secular life. It affects all of us, like it or not.³⁹

After Rev. Goldsmith's arrival in Salt Lake City, he found that there were a great many people who were experiencing pain and disillusionment as they changed the faith commitment which they had received in childhood. While about forty percent of the congregation were disenchanted ex-Mor-

³⁸ Thomas R. Goldsmith Interview, U-1061, Accession 814.

³⁹ Thomas R. Goldsmith Interview, U-1061, Accession 814.



Fig 56. Board of Trustees, 1990. Top Row: Timothy Chambless, Sandy Vanderplas, Marjorie Coombs, Helen Hodgson (chair), Agi Plenk, Phee Belsey; Bottom Row: Douglas Perkins, Tom Goldsmith, Richard Erdmann, Robert Petersen, Jess Burnham-Ranker, Robert Weirick. Martin Zwick

mons, the situation and internal anguish was the same for those who reexamined religious convictions in other traditions. He said that members “would tell me stories, confessions, tidbits of their life, which were really just slices of horror and really involve the drama of breaking away from the LDS church and becoming free thinkers, becoming independent beings — and the palpable pain it has caused.”⁴⁰ This shocking situation prompted Rev. Goldsmith to prepare an April 1988 sermon entitled “Religious Pain,” in which he said:

⁴⁰ Thomas R. Goldsmith Interview, U-1061, Accession 814.

When you begin to raise questions about the faith of your community, and you begin to doubt the credibility of their visions of God and a higher purpose, you open the floodgates of a lot of pain — your own pain, and pain felt intrinsically in the community. . . . I have been trying to understand religious pain for quite some time: parents who refuse to attend the wedding of their children when they marry outside the faith; funerals boycotted because the ceremony did not follow the guidelines of a particular community; grandparents attempting to turn the grandchildren against their parents and bring them back into the community of faith where they belong; the cruelty and pressures heaped upon family members when they begin to raise difficult questions. . . .

One of the great sadnesses which I have discovered — a sadness which persists despite giant strides made in fostering something like an ecumenical spirit and cooperation between faiths — is that the bottom line of any religious community rests on an uncompromising exclusiveness. Only one community can lead to salvation. Only one community has the accurate revelation of God. Only one community can offer the right perceptions about history, life, and destiny.⁴¹

Partly in response to the annual fund-raising drives to acquire revenues for the running of the church, on 12 March 1989 Rev. Goldsmith delivered a sermon entitled "Paying for the Devil," in which he said the following:

I came across an old accounting printed in a church newsletter from the Fountain Street Church in Grand Rapids, Michigan. It contained a bill found among the ruins of Wentworth Abbey, dated November 1, 1605. Although we must allow some for inflation, the bill proves somewhat provocative for those who keep an eye on expenses in the relentless drama of maintaining churches. Four items on this ancient bill might strike our fancy in curious ways:

1. For solidly repairing St. Joseph — 4 pence.
2. Cleaning and ornamenting the Holy Ghost — 6 pence.
3. Repairing the Virgin Mary behind and before and making her a new child — 5 shillings 6 pence.

⁴¹ Thomas R. Goldsmith, "Religious Pain," 10 April 1988, located in Ms 508, Bx 47, Fd 8, emphasis in original.

4. Making a new nose to the Devil, fitting a horn on his head, and gluing a piece on his tail — 6 shillings 6 pence.

Our own church budget reads a little differently, but we all might appreciate our enormous savings in bypassing any repairs to the Virgin Mary — either from behind or from before. Not only are we spared cleaning costs for the Holy Ghost, but spared the heartache of having to form a committee to ornament the Holy Ghost. (That might have been a very lively committee.)

My intrigue with this bill from Wentworth Abbey rests mainly with the Devil. I wonder how much of our budget is concerned with the Devil. Perhaps not on the maintenance side, like fitting the Devil with horns or gluing on his tail, but there's something devilish about the role we have inherited in the religious world. Unitarian Universalists stand apart as caretakers of an institution which has intentionally kept a critical distance from conventional expressions of piety, holiness, and faith.

Despite Voltaire's clever assertion that "when it's a question of money, everyone is of the same religion," there are certain distinctions which need to be made. In trying to make sense of life's mysteries and uncertainties, so many churches offer *precise answers* to the penetrating questions of who we are, where we came from, and where we are going. Unitarian Universalism stands in sharp contrast to the didactic religions which offer God in capsule form — although not always easy to swallow.⁴²

As a banjo player and puppeteer, Goldsmith has entertained children at the Primary Children's Hospital since he came to Salt Lake City.

At the annual congregational meeting on 20 May 1990 it was reported that the approved budget total for the year was \$171,916. The minister's annual salary was \$20,590, with \$13,350 for housing, \$10,230 for professional expenses, \$3,480 for his pension, and \$700 for the General Assembly fees, resulting in a total package of \$48,350. There were

⁴² Thomas R. Goldsmith, "Paying for the Devil," 12 March 1989, located in Ms 508, Bx 47, Fd 10, emphasis in original.



Fig. 57. Church Council, 1990. Top Row: Tim Chambless, Tom Goldsmith, Robert Weirick, Doug Perkins, George Belsey, Cree Cantrell; 2nd Row: David Blackbird, Ineda Roe, Susan Sample, Helge Moulding, Marie Springer, Cathy Chambless; 3rd Row: Ann Petersen, Joan Johnson, Jim Rasmussen, Ruel Eskelson, Elysa Moulding, Ron Anderson; Bottom Row: Lorille Miller, Shirley Micek, Ann Martin, Helen Hodgson, Charles Pioli. Martin Zwick

338 members and 125 children registered in the Sunday School. There were twenty-one girls in the Brownie Scout troop, and twelve active boys in the Cub Scout program. The Social Action Committee coordinated the efforts of some fifty members to prepare and serve food to homeless people in Salt Lake City. Priscilla Mayden, in part because of her experience with the building of the University Medical Library, was chosen to chair the building committee. The Centennial Celebration Planning Committee is chaired by Marie Springer. Arrangements have been made for a Saturday evening dinner and dance at the Salt Lake Arts Center, and a Sunday morning service on 24 February 1991 at the University of Utah Ball Room, the featured speaker being William Schulz, President of the Unitarian/Universalist Association. The Historians Committee reported the completion of the filing, boxing, and publication of a register of the Unitarian



Fig. 58. Historian's Committee, 1991. Standing: Muriel Zwick, Martha Stewart, Betty Greenhalgh; Sitting: Lorille Miller (chair), Dr. Ed Wilson. Martin Zwick

documents preserved at the Marriott Library. The church is presently deeply involved in raising \$600,000 for designing and financing a building expansion program, under the leadership of Dick Henry and George Belsey as co-chairmen.⁴³

When Rev. Thomas R. Goldsmith was asked to express in a nutshell what Unitarianism means to him, he replied as follows:

I think our strength is that we really value the integrity of people in their own religious journeys. I think it takes a lot of courage for a religious institution to say, We don't have answers for you. We're not going to tell you where to find the truths. We're not going to write out a ticket for salvation for you. We're here because we want to have a community. As best as we can, we'll muddle through the joys and sorrows and the aches and pains, the trials of contemporary life.⁴⁴

⁴³ Congregational Meeting Minutes, 20 May 1990, located in Ms 508, Addendum.

⁴⁴ Thomas R. Goldsmith Interview, U-1061, Accession 814.



Fig. 59. Centennial Committee, 1991. Top Row: Martha Stewart, Alan Coombs, Flo Wineriter, Connie Gates; Middle Row: Marie Springer (chair), Barbara Kreek, Ineda Roe, Myrna Wolf; Bottom Row: Barbara Pioli, Muriel Zwick, Lois Craig. Martin Zwick

Unitarianism in Utah enters its second century with a bright future. It is envisioned that, both as individuals and as a church, Unitarians will continue to be active in the major religious, social, moral, and political issues. Perhaps the greatest value of Unitarian Universalism is its emphasis on the use of the rational mind in the search for truths. It is a thinking community responding to the needs of society, and it has consistently emphasized reason in religion and character before creed.

Part Two

Selection of Sermons

David Utter

**Common Sense in Religion:
A Sermon on Revivals**

18 September 1892

I — The Method

IF, AS I PASS my neighbor's gate some evening, I see the doctor's horse hitched to the fence, I am apt to think that some one of the family may be sick. And if, in addition to this, I should see quite a crowd of my fellow citizens standing around the door talking earnestly with the doctor as he came out, I would also step in and make inquiries as to what sudden illness or unfortunate accident had brought together this unusual concourse of people. Then let us suppose the following conversation to take place between myself and Mr. Theory, who is to be imagined as a young medical student, recently from college and now acting as the doctor's assistant. I ask, What is the matter?

Mr. Theory. — "Nothing unusual is the matter. Our neighbor here has simply waked up to the fact that he and his family may, any of them, fall sick at any time, and that all of his friends and neighbors are in the same dangerous situation. Every day we hear of some one who has the typhoid fever, or the diphtheria, or the cholera, and only yesterday a child of my wife's cousin fell down stairs and broke its leg."

I. — "But what has all this to do with this gathering? Who is sick here?"

Mr. Theory. — "No one in particular, as I said, though no

doubt many, if not all of them, have some secret ailments, insidious, lurking diseases, undeveloped in most cases, hidden from the eyes of the world and perhaps unknown to the patient himself—you see we doctors get into a way of considering every man a patient and imagine ourselves prescribing in advance as it were for his, as yet, undeveloped diseases. And so the doctor has been called here by your neighbor, Mr. Smith, to talk to these people and show them their danger. He described just now in a most graphic and wonderful manner, a death by consumption. His imitation of the cough was so realistic that it made every one shudder and some of the young girls turned pale and some shed tears. And then he described other cases to which he had been called and he showed how many people put off calling the doctor till it is too late — ”

I. — “But what is all this for? What stirred up this excitement?”

Mr. Theory. — “Well, perhaps my coming home from college had something to do with it. You see I believe, and the doctor agrees with me, that people ought to be made to realize their danger, to understand that they are, perhaps, none of them in perfect health. Every person should come to the physicians and submit to an examination, and the chance is that we can locate and describe the disease that he will die of. And when we have convinced these people of their diseases, they will then come to us for our remedies.”

I. — “Is it a series of lectures upon health that you are planning, a scheme to instruct the people in physiology and hygiene?”

Mr. Theory. — “Not exactly. You see, people can’t do much for themselves and what they need is to be convinced of their helplessness. So we have worked up a series of meetings for this week in the houses of some of our best

people, just to awaken interest in this matter of the danger of sickness and accident and the necessity of medicine; and for next week we have arranged for the great Dr. Semo to come here and carry on this work of warning people of their danger. This cholera scare is very opportune as it will help to draw crowds to hear the talks."

The unreasonableness of this imaginary conversation is evident, and it is not easy to conceive of the people of a sane neighborhood participating in this sort of medical revival set forth in this conversation by Mr. Theory. But if we say this, we may well ask ourselves why it is more reasonable to have religious revivals than to have medical reawakenings? Whatever the need of the religious life, it is constant, and not more pressing at one season than another. If people are sinners and need to be convinced of their guilt and danger, need to be awakened and forgiven, are they not always with us, and should not continuous efforts be made in their behalf? To this it may be answered that continuous efforts are made. The churches are open every Sunday, and there are prayer meetings every week, and the Salvation Army has a Gospel meeting every night. But still many people are not reached, and it becomes our duty, by special methods and by a united effort, to "compel" some to come in who would be unaffected by the ordinary Gospel invitation.

The case is said to be so urgent that no means or method must be left untried. But suppose we compare religion with education. The dangers of ignorance are many and they are very great. The necessity for educating all future citizens of our republic is urgent. And yet we are satisfied with our steady, continuous, and straightforward methods. We do not send for an educational revivalist to come and plead with people to take an interest in this heavy fight with the monster ignorance. We have lectures upon the subject and we set

forth the beauties of culture and the disgrace of illiteracy, but we do not weep over one another nor transgress the bounds of good taste in our persuasions. Should we not be satisfied when we have in a similar manner set forth our religious views and opinions before our fellow citizens? If we have been fortunate and have learned great and important truths that some of our neighbors are ignorant of, it is surely incumbent upon us to inform them if they are willing to hear. If they are not interested, why not leave them in their ignorance? We would willingly enlighten them, but if they are not ready to receive our instruction are we even justifiable in fairly forcing our views upon their attention? The answer to this is, that in matters of life and death good manners and good taste are flung to the winds. If I know something that my neighbor does not know, and if his ignorance endangers his life and that of his family I am bound to tell him whether he is willing to hear it or not. And it is my duty to try and put my message in a way to convince him if he is inclined to doubt. I must leave no means untried to convince him of this thing that I know; I must persuade, exhort, reason with him, "compel" him if I can to see this truth and act upon it. If this is the case with the revivalist, he is surely justified in the greatest extravagances and excesses that he is ever guilty of. And this is indeed his claim. He has that to communicate which will save life. His message means deliverance from a state of ignorance or indifference, that, if persisted in, means death or something a thousand times worse.

Such is the claim of those who conduct religious revivals, but in truth do we not all know the message before it is spoken? Have we not known it all our lives? The real difficulty is not ignorance, but doubt or unbelief. The revivalist cannot be said to know something that his neigh-

bors do not know. He simply believes something that they do not believe. His object is to convince, though he may think it is to speak for God and instruct. Now, the right method in attempting to convince is to address the reason. Calmly present your facts, your evidence, to the intellectual consideration of your doubting friend, and if you are right he cannot resist the conclusion. But is it of any use to say, "Oh, please be convinced! Oh, for the sake of your own soul, yield, assent, believe that my reasoning is right and my facts authentic!" Any such appeal is foolish. When you have presented your reasons for your belief as clearly as possible, you have done your utmost. To persuade is to waste time and breath.

This is why so many sensible men hold revivals and revivalists in contempt. I do not think I am putting this too strongly, though I know the contempt is veiled with politeness often, and sometimes hidden as a matter of policy and advantage. But if contempt is too strong a word, scratch it out and say simply that many well-educated and sensible men take no interest in revivals. The reason is, I urge, that they see the folly of anybody's trying to influence the belief of a sane man by persuasion or by passionate appeals and cries of danger. And so to such, revivals in religion seem puerile, foolish, unworthy the intellectual age in which we live. This is what they seem to me and to many of my friends who are good citizens and who live good lives.

But we all can, and do, turn the subject about and look at it from the standpoint of those that we see engaged in promoting these efforts that seem so foolish to us. We see that their minds are possessed by a different theory of the universe from that which we hold. If their theory is sound, their actions are not so irrational as they appear. If their theory is sound, then God is to be feared whether we can

love him or not, and it were wisest to say little and acquiesce in all that is proposed for our salvation regardless of whether it seems reasonable or not. "Do the will," the exhortation runs, "and you shall know the doctrine, whether it be of God" [cf. John 7:17]. This is unreasonable, of course, for it is like saying, Swallow the medicine and when you are cured you will understand that you have chosen the right doctor; unreasonable, but no matter, it's a queer world, and God is a jealous God, a consuming fire, very angry with the wicked, and if He has not been misrepresented, He hates few things on earth as He hates a self-reliant thinker who trusts in the conclusions of his own intellect. If their theory be true, this God will confound the wisdom of this self-reliant soul and justify the foolishness of those who trust in this so-called scheme of salvation. If their theory be true, it is vain to expect to convince people of its truth by reasoning, for it is repugnant to reason and common sense. The only way left, then, is to have people brought up to believe that they believe it, and to persuade a certain class of impressionable people who are not logically inclined, to accept the great theory on trust because of its age and respectability and its supposed practical bearings in the way of benefiting mankind. From the standpoint, then, of those whose minds are under the sway of this great theory of the universe that is so often vaunted as the "religion of the Bible" (as though that book presented but one religion or one theory of the world), from the standpoint of those inside, we see clearly that revivals are justifiable. Indeed, we wonder that a real believer in that theory can ever do anything else but warn souls to flee from the wrath to come. Why should such believer ever be content to weed his garden, or roof his house, or cast a vote on election day? These are the things that perish; he should only live to save souls, his own and

others. Revival methods, then, are justified, not by common sense, not by nineteenth century education or wisdom, not by reason, but by the revival theory of the universe.

The cost of a revival such as is in progress here at the present time is not easy to estimate, but it is considerable. And the money and labor that is given — some of it freely, a good deal of it grudgingly and through fear of consequences if it is not given — will no doubt be subtracted from what will be given to the churches and in charity for the coming winter. Still, as was said above, if the revival theory of religion and the relations of man and God be the true one, the cost ought not to be counted. If the revivalist knows and tells us truly what is going to become of us a thousand years from now, everything else sinks into insignificance. But does he know?

A brief statement of this theory is by no means easy to make, coming to us, as it does, from so far away in space and time, made up of so many elements — Jewish, Egyptian, Indian, Greek, and heathen. It does not come from Jesus, and it does not truly represent the Bible, but is built by theologians such as Augustine and Calvin, and it does more to honor their imaginations and intellects than their hearts or humanity. In outlining this theory I will not attempt completeness, since it is already so well known, but simply say enough to recall the main points of it to most minds.

II — The Theory

The theory is that God created the world and all kinds of living things, much as it now is, and was at first pleased with what he had done. As a sort of afterthought he made man, or if man was in the first plan it would seem that woman was not. The man and woman disappointed their Maker

through a childish disobedience, and were cursed for their folly and cast out of the garden that had been made for them. The agency of the serpent must not be forgotten, for he is to be identified later with Satan, the rival and enemy of God. All sin and suffering and death are to be traced to this unfortunate affair that is dignified with the name "The Fall of Man." The human race after this multiplied and flourished, but behaved badly — worse than they were expected to, in fact, and some were drowned, and some burned, and the earth swallowed some, but such experiments were of no avail. I say experiments because I know of no other explanation as to why four thousand years were allowed to pass before Christ was sent into the world. But at last the Redeemer came, God himself, we are asked to believe, though we cannot understand it. He lived on the earth about thirty years and then he was crucified, his mother weeping beside the cross, a human mother; he died and was buried, and after three days rose from the dead, was seen several times about Jerusalem and then in Galilee, and then he ascended bodily up into heaven, whatever that may mean. So far I have epitomized the "facts" upon which the theory rests. The theory itself is, that man is an immortal soul under a curse for Adam's transgression. From that curse which causes sin and is itself guilt there is but one way to be delivered, and that way is through faith in Christ. Faith is a power by which the merits of Christ's sacrifice are transferred to us. We are thus purified from all sin and guilt, both that which we are not to blame for, Adam's, and that which resulted from our own naughtiness or inherent depravity — Adam's too, second hand. Questions of time are troublesome in this theory, but along about now a general collapse of the universe is to be expected or of this part of it. Perhaps the disaster will not extend beyond the solar system though the statement

is that the stars shall fall from their places. Then comes the day of judgment and all souls are to be brought up and judged and divided into two great companies. Some of the souls have already been in heaven a long time and for them the day of judgment is a sort of golden wedding, as it were, reuniting their souls and bodies, and their sentence, a sort of duplicate copy of the permit to enter heaven that was given them at death. In conducting this judgment one thing is absolutely decisive — had the defendant faith in Christ? After this is answered in the affirmative other things may or may not be considered, but answer it in the negative and there is just no hope whatever. A man may have lived a good life, may have been honest and truthful and kind, may have been public spirited and helped to build school houses and churches, may have endowed orphan asylums, and given money that has converted several heathens, but if he has not been able to believe that Jesus Christ was God, why in the day of judgment he is set on the left. And it is pitiful to think of what becomes of those on the left hand — if anyone believes it.

The idea that souls suffer the torment of burning in fire and brimstone is said to be an obsolete faith today, somewhat inconsistently, however, as the statements of Scripture on the subject are plain and were evidently meant to be taken literally. But this is a small matter, for the doom indicated by this strong language even if taken figuratively, is to be thought of as being just as severe and hopeless as the mind of man can picture. The soul is to be abandoned by the God who created and failed to redeem it. It is to be left to suffer without hope and forever. It is thrown into a state where no reform or regeneration will be possible for all eternity. There is to be no further probation, the doom of the sinner is sealed. "Away with those who preach probation after

death," exclaims the revivalist, "there is nothing of a second probation in the Bible." After death and judgment, then there are just two conditions of the human family, one part in unutterable woe that is endless, one part in felicity that is faultless and eternal. Such is this awful theory. It is enough to make any man with a heart of love weep without ceasing for the unfortunate situation of the human race. It would have been better a thousand times to have had no world created, or for the earth to have swung in its place silent, lifeless and cold, dead as the moon and serving only as a light to happier spheres, than to have borne such a helpless, doomed population through these many centuries. For it goes with the theory as an essential corollary that only a minority of each generation can be saved. It will not do to think that a good Japanese or Chinese Buddhist can be saved out of Christ. Such a thought would "cut the nerve of missions," as has been said, and it would sap the life of revivals too, since the proposition "out of Christ no salvation" must be left unqualified. It is enough to banish all love of God from any tender heart to think of the doom of the majority of each generation. For the blame falls at last on the Almighty. It cannot be laid upon Satan, for God permits all that he does. The blame cannot be laid upon the man who cannot believe, for we all know that conviction is involuntary. And for the heathen in particular, where Christ is not preached, God alone is responsible. Will He save them for their good intentions and ignorance? Then let us send no more missionaries. Will He permit their damnation through no fault of their own? Then why were they ever created? A God who would create millions of human beings foreseeing that they would have to be abandoned at last to eternal sorrow may command our fear but not our reverence or love.

III — Common Sense

In stating this revival theory of religion, I have intimated some of my objections to it. I once received it as a true theory of the universe, it was taught me in my childhood and in my youth I preached it. Then there came a time when the whole scheme began to be offensive to my reason. I began to see that there not only could be, but actually were, good men in all churches and outside of all churches and religions. I was told that to think this was a suggestion of the devil and I prayed for faith to overcome all such wicked thoughts. But they would not [go] down at my bidding nor vanish in answer to my prayers. It seemed a simple conclusion backed by the common sense of the world, that if a man used his reason in any part of the world he would see that it was better to do right than wrong, that such man would find more satisfaction in being a good man than in being a bad man, and that he might see all this for himself without Christ or any other teacher just as he would see the truth of the multiplication table. And if this was so and a man led a good life naturally, would he be damned for lack of faith in Christ? Common sense answered no.

But I was told that common sense had nothing to do with religion. I was warned not to depend upon my poor fallible human reason. I was told that the error was in my heart, that was somehow corrupt, and so God was permitting me to be led away into unbelief, according to the text, "They shall believe a lie and be damned, etc." [cf. II Thessalonians 2:11-12]. I gave these counsels full and fair consideration and I earnestly sought for that secret corruption of heart that was said to be causing my skepticism, but sought in vain. Not that I was faultless, but that there was no guarded or

sin or corruption. And then I thought, if I cannot depend upon my reason, what shall I depend upon? If my reason kept me in the church, its conclusions would be counted safe and valid enough, but now that it is leading me away, it is condemned. Whether I continued to preach according to this awful theory of a lost and partially redeemed race, or rejected the theory and stopped preaching, I must follow this same guide, my common sense.

Most repugnant to common sense is the doctrine of the atonement, as it is preached and implied in revivals. Christ died for sinners, we are told, paid the debt they owed, suffered in their room and stead. This, if true, would be neither reasonable nor right. It would not be right because the ends of justice would be defeated. Each man should pay his own debts and suffer for his own sins. Jesus, doubtless, with all good men, suffered somewhat because others did wrong. We all do that. Every dishonest man makes many others suffer. But for a sinner to accept such a vicarious sacrifice in order to win heaven is to deserve hell. And for a God to plan such injustice is unbelievable — at least for some of us. Plutarch said: "I would rather men should say there is no such man as Plutarch, than to say there is one Plutarch who eats his own children." Plutarch wrote this against the old Roman theology, the myth of Saturn or Chronus being in his mind, but curiously enough it applies as well to the revival theology of today. Better say there is no God, than say there is a God who slew his son because men had sinned. The doctrine of purchased forgiveness through a crucified Savior would be wrong if true. But it is unreasonable in its very nature. We could imagine that Jesus might have suffered or may have suffered for Peter and James and John. They may have plotted against the Roman tyranny, and Judas may have betrayed the plot, and Jesus may have

taken the responsibility of the plot without having been involved in the guilt of it, for this [he] may have been crucified (there is so little attainable certainty about these far away events), and so he may have suffered for his disciples and fellow countrymen, but how could he suffer for us? We may be sinners now, but then we were not. Did God know that we would live in future and would sin? That is part of this awful theory. "He might better have dispensed with the lives of all those who would ultimately have to be damned," cries reason. But no, Jesus must pay for uncontracted debts, discount them, as it were, centuries in advance. Is this a believable doctrine? How can we believe that guilt is any case transferable? How could the death of Jesus set me free from my guilt even if God were unjust enough to permit the substitution. There is no washing out the fact of wrong doing. If I have done wrong, the fact remains. I remember it and the guilt is there and there forever. Guilt is a fact and even God, I suppose, cannot obliterate facts.

Common sense then sets this dreadful theory aside and substitutes for it the religion of Jesus of Nazareth. The theory I have been discussing is built up as a half-heathen theology about the name of Jesus, but it is widely different from his religion, which was to love God with the whole heart and your neighbor as yourself. He never taught and there is no reason to think that he ever believed any of the awful doctrines, such as the atonement now taught in His name. He taught that God is our Father and that men are all brothers, and should do to others as they would have others do to them. The theology that is now taught in His name grew up, composed of many elements, after his death. And the day has happily come when the world will no longer accept this monstrous theory. This is why the churches languish and the divinity schools get so few first-class men, though

their training is often free. The people do not believe the theory, and therefore they feel no deep interest in revivals.

Revivals have to be carefully organized and industriously worked up. An advance agent must go ahead and prepare for it just as for a great show. Then the tent arrives and the advertising begins. The good pastors combine and wield the influence of their congregations so effectually that people, if they think anything unfavorable, say it in whispers. Storekeepers fear a boycott if they do not close when asked to do so, and an unbelieving mayor issues a proclamation recommending the closing, and we guess he does it to be popular. By such means a revival is worked up; nothing spontaneous or heartfelt in it, because the people do not believe in the theory that would make it a necessity. The people generally understand that if a man wishes to begin a religious life he can begin at home as well as in a tent, and that if he does not desire so to live of his own motion, and is persuaded into it, the attempt will not amount to anything.

And this brings up the most injurious teaching of the revival, that concerning conversion, or coming to Christ, as it is called. The teaching is that this change is in part miraculous and is wrought by the Spirit of God and that it effaces all past sins, regenerates the soul so that temptations in [the] future have no power, or less power. Men should be taught that turning away from a wrong life is to be wholly through their own efforts. That if there is to be any change in their nature or their life, they themselves must plan, initiate, and accomplish it. To believe otherwise is to be weakened by a delusion. To depend upon yourself and to try is to succeed. Jesus told the people to repent, but said nothing about God's spirit changing their hearts.

The natural, self-reliant life is the noble life, and one may be just as true, righteous, and good without any conversion

or change of heart as with it. One may grow into the good life as naturally as he learns to love beautiful scenery. We do not have to be converted to art or mathematics and neither should we nor, generally, do we, to come into a religious life. As for the false theory that one has to believe that Jesus is God in order to lead a good life it needs only to be stated to meet with almost universal condemnation. There are good men in all Christian denominations and in all religions, and then outside there are plenty more just as good. Will these good men suffer eternally because of their inability to believe?

Stanley M. Hunter

What Shall Unitarianism Stand for in Salt Lake City?

20 January 1895

DESPITE THE INCLEMENCY of the weather yesterday morning there was the usual large attendance at the Unitarian Church, Unity Hall, 44 Main Street. The new minister, the Rev. Stanley M. Hunter, delivered the sermon.

He said he had been specially requested to deal with the subject: "What Shall Unitarianism Stand for in Salt Lake City?" Beginning, he said that Unitarianism, like love, was indefinable. We could only say what it was, by what it had been. What, then, had it been? This could be best answered by showing what it had not been. Unitarianism was not a battering ram to demolish everything. When the walls of tradition were well founded, it allowed them to stand. Though Unitarianism denies much, it affirms more. In the past it has stood for free thought and free speech, intellectual liberty, the noblest citizenship, the highest education, the largest faith.

Is there room for such a church in Salt Lake City? Mr. Hunter thought there was. In fact, he believed there was an imperative demand for it. In the past Unitarianism had been the reformation of the Reformation. Today it is in the van of civil and religious freedom. Mr. Hunter then made a strong and logical appeal to the liberals of Salt Lake City to stand up for their convictions, and stand by the organization that stood for them. If such convictions were not worth

standing for, then he did not know what were.

“If there is any liberal,” continued the speaker, “who thinks that the work of Unitarianism is done, he is mistaken. So long as there is any theology teaching hell fire and instantaneous conversion, the duty of every liberal is to unite with the movement that stands for freedom, fellowship and character in religion. Personally, I am very hopeful for the success of Unitarianism in Salt Lake City!”

Adelbert L. Hudson

Faith in God

6 October 1895

MR. HUDSON PREACHED yesterday afternoon at Unity Hall upon "Faith in God," taking as his text John iv, 24, "God is spirit" (following the marginal reading in the Revised Version).

He said that much confusion of thought had arisen from the assumption of a false and narrow conception of God as a limited personality, whose attributes could be summed up and his nature defined by a doctrinal statement formulated by the mind of man. This, he contended, was as much idolatry as the setting up of wooden images to be worshiped. Both alike have been made by man.

The words of Jesus to the woman by the well are the best answer to this narrow and unworthy conception of God. "God is not a person to whom a special habitat can be assigned. He is [not] a local deity to be worshiped either in Mt. Gerizim or in Jerusalem. God is spirit, and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth" [cf. John 4:20-24].

It was not the teachings of Jesus, but medieval theology, which for centuries imposed on Christendom that low conception of Deity which would drag God down to the level of a jealous tyrant, demanding human sacrifices. It is this false notion which has driven so many thinking minds out of the fellowship of the church. It is this which has caused so many people of honest, upright, reverent lives to be regarded by others as infidels. It is this which has led to the

supposed conflict between science and religion.

In the larger thought of God foreshadowed by the text, there can be no conflict between Faith and Reason. These two might roam together through the universe and find no cause to differ. Reason, looking upon the world, would find everywhere life, growth and decay, action and reaction, not merely in what is commonly known as animate life, but in the ever-moving atoms of the earth and solid rock, and in the myriad life the microscope reveals in a single drop of water. He would turn his telescope upon the heavens and would find everywhere worlds upon worlds and systems upon systems in ceaseless revolution. Even in the field called empty space he would find millions of light-waves and heat waves, from countless suns, intermingling in every cubic inch of space. From all this survey Reason would report that it found the universe permeated with something men call Force. And Faith would answer: "Yes, God is power."

Again Reason would look upon the universe and find that it was pervaded by intelligence. On every hand would be found the evidence of purpose and design — the tiniest atom and the vastest system alike moving toward some intelligent and purposed end. And even in its very survey the Reason would be conscious of its own power; would feel that "the mind which can weigh a star is greater than the star." Thus Reason would again report that it found the universe pervaded by Intelligence. And again Faith would answer, "Yes, God is wisdom."

Intelligence and Force. But these do not exhaust the contents of the universe. Reason still finds Goodness and Beauty involved in the evolution of the universe. And Faith exclaims in triumph, "Yes, God is Love."

But the Spirit which pervades the universe does not always find expression in forms of Goodness and Beauty. It reveals

itself at times in the earthquake and the storm, in disease, deformity and death, in wrong and folly, in wretchedness and pain.

Amid this dualism of life must Faith and Reason then at last part company? No! Faith only demands that we shall see things whole. The pain and evil that we see are only the imperfect state of life, the partial discord in the larger harmony. In the perfected whole evil is swallowed up in good. And even through the evil comes the higher discipline of life. Like pure gold refined by fire, life will rise through pain into its nobler possibilities. The whole earth will become a larger, grander Eden, and Faith will be justified in the universal recognition that "God is Love."

Power, Wisdom, Love! Broad and comprehensive as these words are, they cannot compass God; they only bring us to the point where the soul of man seeks to know its own relation to the Infinite. But Faith, still clasping hands with Reason, looks up with trusting hope and breathes the words, "Our Father."

Mila T. Maynard

What Does It Mean to Join the Unitarian Church?

6 February 1898

THIS MORNING I wish to bring before you in brief outline the chief principles that characterize the modern liberal church. The vast liberal movement of the past century has embodied itself in a great number of individual churches under various names, all of which stand very nearly on the same basis. All churches and all intelligent individuals have felt the influence of the modern methods of thought and the larger views of this latter day. The more strongly organized religious bodies such as the Catholic, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches, while they have been permeated with the modern leaven, have found it impossible to change the outward conditions of their organizations in conformity to their larger views; but, in those religious organizations having a more pliable form of government, the individual churches have been rapidly adapting their conditions of membership and all regulations in conformity to the freer spirit. Wherever congregational freedom is recognized, each church has been able to work out for itself whatever basis appealed to its members as the best. The result has been that in the last ten years remarkable rapid progress has been made toward the ideal church. In most departments of life our ideals have to be a long way in advance of actual conditions, for institutions can only be molded slowly, in gradual approximation to the ideal.

But in the organization of a church, under a system which

allows perfect freedom to the individual congregation, there is nothing to hinder the carrying out of one's highest ideal as far as the basis and regulations of the church are concerned. This does not mean, of course, that the actual working of the church will perfectly conform to the highest standard of its members and the outward condition under which it works will allow. There is no reason, however, why the basis of the church should not perfectly conform to the highest convictions of the majority of those who comprise such church. As a matter of fact, I am personally acquainted with scores of churches which seem to me to have found bedrock in their desire for an eternally true basis for religious fellowship. Most of these churches with which I am personally acquainted are Unitarian in name; many of them are Universalist; some half-dozen or more are called People's churches; an increasing number are Congregational churches; almost all of the more modern Jewish congregations would come in the same category; the ethical culture societies are very much akin to all of these, except that they differ in methods of work. The free religious association, although it has until recently made no effort to organize churches, has been in the vanguard for 30 years in the promulgation of freedom in religious work. Theosophists, Spiritualists, Mental Scientists, and others probably with which we are less familiar have all largely, in so far as they have organized at all, recognized the same principles of freedom, fellowship, and character in religion. Thus, in stating my idea of a Unitarian church, I feel that I am voicing the convictions of a great liberal movement that is far wider than any one denomination; that this free church ideal is too general for any one group to claim a patent right upon its principles.

Since the World's Fair Parliament of Religions there has been an organization called "The Liberal Congress," which

aims to secure the union of all these liberal forces in a common effort to advance the higher life of humanity. Let me read you its statement of purpose: "To unite in a larger fellowship and cooperation such existing societies and liberal elements as are in sympathy with the movement toward undogmatic religion; to foster and encourage the organization of non-sectarian churches and kindred societies on the basis of absolute mental liberty; to secure a closer and more helpful association of all these in the thought and work of the world under the great law and life of love; to develop a church of humanity, democratic in organization, progressive in spirit, aiming at the development of pure and high character, hospitality to all forms of thought, cherishing the spiritual tradition and experiences of the past, but keeping itself open to all new light and the higher development of the future."

What, then, would it mean to join one of these churches of united liberals? First and foremost, it does not mean that a person has come to believe a certain set of doctrines. It does not mean that he has come to disbelieve a certain set of doctrines. Either of these things may be true. He may have a creed as long as he chooses. He may have a "don't believe creed" as long as he sees fit. He may accept every article in the Athanasian creed, or the Westminster Confession, or he may deny them in toto. What he must believe in is the right of free inquiry to find out what is true; and in the right of others to have the same privilege. Freedom in the search for truth and cooperation for moral and religious ends among those whose opinions may not agree, are the distinguishing features of the truly modern church.

The church of our ideal would set up no barriers to fellowship which would keep out any earnest soul; its spirit and its letter should be such that no one who desires to work

with his fellows for the welfare of humanity could be excluded because of any theoretical difference. There should be nothing in the bond of union that a person of reverent mind and earnest heart could fail to endorse. It should embody those fundamental aspirations which are common to the Salvation Army lassie and the professor of theology at Princeton college; to the Catholic nun and the doubting Scientist. This may seem a merely formal matter, and yet it means a great deal to me. The pope of Rome may probably never seek admission into any church with which I am connected, yet I should never feel comfortable in any church which would necessarily exclude him. Robert Ingersoll has been for years too well pleased with his independent freedom for negotiations, to care to work with any church, and has not even had time to keep himself posted enough to know that there were scores of churches whose basis of organization had nothing in them which he could not consciously endorse; yet in spite of his illiberality and ignorance of modern church movements, some of us have for years been unwilling to have up any barriers that would keep out such as he. Last winter this brilliant and lovable Rip Van Winkle was aroused from his slumber in Kalamazoo by the discovery that a church in that city long established, strong and widely helpful, was on a basis so universal in its requirements, so true to the inmost aspiration of every human being, whatever his opinion, that even he could find nothing in it to criticize. The newspapers telegraphed to the ends of the earth the wonderful fact that Mr. Ingersoll had found a church which he could endorse. It was truly amusing that he should have been so surprised at a condition of things which has been a common place among liberal churches of the more advanced type for at least a decade. Just seven years ago in a sermon on the basis of church membership I find that I discussed the

question of whether or not there was room for a Robert Ingersoll in a Unitarian church and affirmed most decidedly that there was. We should be troubled, I said, at his irreverence and try to overcome it; we should be mortified at his narrow, negative spirit; we should regret his want of a faith in the religious truths so dear to most of us, but we would welcome him, I trust, most cordially. Few persons have so little sympathy with much of Mr. Ingersoll's thought as myself; nevertheless, if there were no door for such as he among us, I do not think I could be a Unitarian.

Evidently it is not alone the adherence of moth-eaten doctrines who show themselves occasionally behind the times. You will see from this that in my opinion it is not only unnecessary that a member of a liberal church should believe a certain set of doctrines more than another; it is not necessary that he have any beliefs formed completely, the search for truth is a lifelong aim and effort, our hold upon it may be wavering, we may be perplexed amid the different views held by the wise and earnest, the opposing argument may baffle our power to decide, all this is the inevitable experience of the truth seeker upon many points, and even if it seems as if the truth upon all important points eludes one, that does not make him any the less a worthy member of the ideal church, provided such in[de]cision is a genuine stage in an effort to find the truth, and not merely passive indifference as to both truth and error. I think that we all believe more than we dare to affirm decidedly. In the reaction against petrified doctrines and dogmatic assertions we are in danger of distrusting too much our own conclusions and our instinctive faith. Still this hesitancy to affirm conviction is not to be frowned upon, and woe to the religious work which seeks to force belief faster than absolute sincerity and perfect confidence would lead. When the

church has ceased to write over its doorway the challenge, "Thou must believe" it will be far easier for the conscientious person to affirm with glad confidence: "I do believe." (Welcome to young persons.)

Let all this not be mistaken to mean that those Unitarians who are liberal in religion do not care what a person believes. This is far from the case, it certainly would be only a superficial man and a very thoughtless one who would say "that belief was a matter of no consequence." A man's belief is a tremendous power for good or ill in his life. Most of us believe with heart and soul that certain things are true and would gladly have the rest of the world come to the same conclusion; indeed, would work as valiantly as we are capable to convince others of the truth of our beliefs, but that does not make it necessary to refuse fellowship to those who do not agree with us. The scientist is now very thoroughly convinced of the truth of the Nebular Hypothesis, of the Evolution of Species, of the Theory of Atoms, but he does not think it necessary that the associations of science should have these beliefs formulated into a creed for fear some scientific heretics should enter their precincts. A college does not think it necessary to force professors and pupils to make a confession of their scientific creed before entering upon their work, lest some of them should come to doubt the theory of gravitation, they believe that the facts will speak for themselves; that the minds of candid men will reach like conclusion from a given series of facts. They feel a special pride in any professor or student who discovers a new truth or brings to light an old error. How vitally important it is that religious workers should accept this scientific spirit which trusts the truth and welcomes the most full and free investigation. The great majority of liberal thinkers believe that the great faiths in God, the moral structure of the

universe, the sanctity of human association, the divinity of conscience and reason, the immortality of the soul, and much besides are based upon such ultimate, necessary grounds that earnest living and careful thinking will reach these faiths sometime, somehow, or discover an error in our understanding of them. If one believes in any sanity in the universe, he must believe that free thought is safe, and will lead everyone eventually into the light. There is no heresy so fundamental, so profane, as that which fears to face the fullest, freest investigation. We value belief so much that we fear to tamper with the free attainment of it, we have too much faith in the truth as we see it, to force men to accept until they see it for themselves, and surely we should not cut off from fellowship with us any who are earnest in purpose, who are yet not blessed by the faith which we find inspiring.

I wonder if we realize what this perfect freedom of thought has cost? It is a glorious privilege. This absolute freedom in religious association. We are so accustomed to the legal tolerance of our time and country and to the measure of social tolerance that everywhere prevails that it is difficult to make real to our minds the time when this freedom was not possible. We must remember with reverent gratitude that the path which has led through the centuries up to our present religious freedom, is a path which has been wet with the blood of martyrs. This privilege of untrammelled thought which we value so lightly often has seemed to thousands worth dying for. It was because he must speak of the truth as he felt it, although it differed from the creeds of his day, that Jesus hung upon the cross; it was for this that Socrates calmly drank his hemlock; it was for this that another was burned by the church in Rome, it was for this that many early sects were blotted from existence, for this that the later

Hebrews were hounded all over Christendom when allowed to live at all.

To light this path, victim after victim has burned unflinchingly at the stake. Old men, young girls, have carried the torch which lighted their own funeral pyre. It has meant agony, torture, death; but the path was lighted, and men have kept steadily on in that path, until now we stand with perfect freedom all our own, unearned by ourselves, but ours because we are the "heirs of all the ages in the long results of time."

It may be that few or none of these had consciously in mind the principle of intellectual freedom; many of them may have had the spirit of Calvin, who risked martyrdom for his own faith, although he was ready to burn Cervetus [Servetus] for his opinion; yet every one who has suffered for intellectual conviction has taught the world that true religion is not necessarily associated with any one belief. History has shown us Catholics who suffered death with as great a loyalty as the Protestant, when his turn came. It has shown a superstitious monk more invincible for his error than Galileo was for his truth. The moral factor has been constant, while the thought side has changed. It has changed, as we believe, always progressively, toward greater grasp of truth, but the element of overwhelming importance has been the man underneath the belief, the spirit underlying both the truth and error, and so our church has said, "We will base our welcome upon moral purpose, which has never changed, which is never doubted. Upon the love of Jesus, not his idea of the end of the world; upon the heroism of Paul, not of his theory of election; upon the religious fervor of both Luther and the pope, not upon the doctrine of infallibility of the one, or justification by faith of the other. We should seek to base the church upon that element which has been

in all religions — in heathen and Christian, Protestant and Catholic, Puritan and Armenian, orthodox and heterodox, rather than upon the theories which have reddened the centuries with bloody strife.

I have thus laid stress upon the attitude of the modern church toward theological belief, because it is the side which is most apt to be misunderstood, and that in which it is most different from the older churches. Free and fearless thought is a boon that we must not receive lightly; it is a privilege rare indeed within church boundaries. But let us not imagine this to mean that a Unity church is simply a society for intellectual gymnastics with theological problems as the apparatus; far from it. Intellectual activity in and for itself is a doubtful good; we seek the thought freedom, not only because it is the only reverent, wise basis for religion, but also because we value first of all what a man is. Character is so great a thing that we would not put any opinion above it. To make correct belief the test of church fellowship would be to say that it is of first importance what a man thinks, and that righteousness is secondary to opinion; yet this is not the standard by which the past is judged. We care little what the faith was a martyr died for. If it was the faith of a holy life, we feel the sacrilege was the same whether he suffered for truth or error. Our freedom would be of little worth if it did not intensify our emphasis upon the things of the spirit. We cannot be true to our heritage from the past by simply using our blood-earned privilege of speculating unhindered. Those who have given themselves in the cause were not merely imbued with enthusiasm for a theory, but for righteousness. Jesus would have cared little to spread his opposition to Pharasaic customs and theories, if his newer thought had not been necessary to fuller, higher spiritual life. So with others. It has been those who have cared for the

truth as a saving power for their fellows that have earned the freedom for us.

Free thought we value, then, only as a means to the great ends of character and fellowship, to deepen in ourselves and in the world that inner holiness and outer rectitude of life is the great aim of the church. But here is another thing that needs to be specially noted. Although such stress is laid upon character in this church, membership in a liberal church ought not to be understood to mean any special height in character building, it should mean rather that one desires to become more than he is, it should mean that he wishes to identify himself with his fellows in efforts to attain unto higher standards of righteousness and more complete conformity to those standards. A person who felt that it did not make much difference whether he were good or bad — that efforts to be more manly or womanly were waste of energy, would have no place in religious fellowship. I doubt if such persons exist. Almost everyone believes in the worth of righteousness, however much his conduct may belie his theory. What we seek is to transform this general approval of morality into a persistent, practical effort to grow stronger in righteousness. It is the hunger and thirst after righteousness which is the thing of moral worth. I should feel that the soul sunk unto the lowest depth which was yearning with mighty longing for purer, holier life was a more appropriate candidate for hearty fellowship than the most respectable moralist who felt that he had attained all that was to be desired.

The church stands not alone for individual effort in the moral life, but it stands for cooperation in moral helpfulness. I have heard several persons say in effect, "I do not feel the need of a church." "It would not make me any better, there

may be persons who need it." It is strange that they cannot see the selfishness of this. Suppose it were possible to live a right life entirely cut off from sympathetic work with others, how could one be content to do it? If we are strong, can we therefore ignore the needs of those who are weak, can we in a world of sin and suffering and weakness shut ourselves up and say, "It does not concern me"? No, we cannot do it and retain any true moral strength ourselves. Such lives may keep the law, but they miss the spirit most woefully. The oneness of human life enters into the entire woof and web of spiritual laws. We cannot ignore our brothers in life's struggle without losing our hold upon the sweetest things of the spirit. One must lose his life in others' lives if he is to save his own. Self-centeredness, selfishness, arrogance, self-conceit — all come as canker upon the soul of him who forgets that no man liveth to himself and no man dieth to himself. Helpfulness — this is the great secret of the religious spirit. Few words sum up so well the spirit which give[s] life as this word "helpfulness." This desire to serve mankind, to raise the fallen, strengthen the weak, ennoble the petty, make true the false and purify the unclean is the great regenerating influence in the soul. One does not need to be a saint to yearn to make other lives more holy. It is said that in prisons the hardened criminals are sometimes the least dangerous companions for the young offenders. Most of them would do anything in their power to keep others from following in their footsteps. This impulse is in every soul. We would be of use and gladly do something for others. The church should be a training school to develop this passive willingness into an habitual, fervent desire to give and receive help toward the higher life. No helpfulness can be more fundamental than that which affects the moral

standards and elevates the general motives of conduct, and gives through sympathetic association the dynamic force of spiritual power.

The air is full of causes which seek human uplifting. It is to be hoped that all our hearts are burdened with a sense of responsibility for some, perhaps many, of these causes. But these reforms all depend upon the moral conditions of individuals. We can have no industrial revolution, no political purification, no social reform, except as individual souls become more thoughtful, more unselfish, more honorable, more loyal to principles. So that work in a church ought to mean help for all the reforms that depend upon an aroused humanity.

To those of us who have identified ourselves with the church movement, or who may do so in the future, it means little as far as our personal worth is concerned. We do not claim to be very wise. We do not claim to have solved completely any of life's mysteries. It need not mean that we are righteous to any great degree. It does not mean that we care for our fellow man as our ideal would have us, but it does mean that we want to know the truth, that we do wish to strive for holiness, that we do want to grow out of our petty selfishness and work with and for others towards a more complete brotherhood on earth.

It means little righteousness or wisdom of our own, but it means an entrance into a glorious heritage of truth, righteousness, love that others have won. It is putting ourselves in line with that great onward march which has greatedened the centuries with holy, fearless lives. Ah, when we are indifferent, holding ourselves aloof from the active struggles of our own time, unwilling to do the little within our power, refusing to give ourselves up to the work which calls us today — then we cut ourselves off from that great

stream of advancing life which is steadily flowing on to the mighty ocean of blessing. Life would be worthless, meaningless, would it not, except for the heroic souls who have illumined it with the glory of disinterested, self-sacrificing life. The least we can do then is to put what power and influence we have into line with these blessed forces which are making toward a holier humanity. It may be little that we can do, but we can at least stand up and be counted upon the side of freedom for truth's sake. We can join hands and help to make the good things better and the worst good in so far as we are able. We can cooperate to bear one another's burdens and the burdens of all the weak ones of earth. We can by this gain an inspiration in our struggle to be earnest, sincere, pure, and unselfish.

And this life of moral endeavor, aided by work for others' welfare, will lead us on into those blessed heights of the spirit whereon we know that we are not left to stand alone; but that a higher than ourself — a nearer, deeper self — is working in us and with us. It is for this living, constant faith in God which we must seek, not merely the conviction of the mind, but the vital reality of the soul — that living consciousness that the voice which speaks in the heart prompting our aspirations is the voice of the soul of the universe. The father of our spirits, the light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and giveth us power to become the sons of God. It is this consciousness of our divine sonship which we may seek as the crowning blessing of our life together — the crowning blessing of the human soul.

Rezin A. Maynard

Flower Sunday and Its Lessons

25 June 1899

THE CELEBRATION of nature festivals is becoming more and more general. The flower season, harvest time, and Easter as a recognition of the spring are annually observed by ever-growing numbers. It is good that it is so. We need to come closer to nature; need to learn from her what it is to be real, to be simple, to be truly obedient. There is so much that is artificial in our lives that we almost forget to discover what we really care for, and leave out of our lives from sheer indifference much of the richest and best it might offer. All kinds of changes may come in our industrial, social, and moral life, but we never can believe that a time will come when man will not need communion with nature to enrich his life. How true it is that we never find anything in the world that had not in some way been within us at first. Even in religion our experience is incomplete unless we have the ability to find God everywhere. The sense of religion is incomplete unless it unites us to all the grand divinity in nature, and surely no argument which the philosopher can urge is so convincing to the heart as the voiceless arguments the flowers urge to prove the goodness and the loving kindness of the Infinite Life.

That teacher or educator of our modern days to whom first came the inspiration for teaching nature studies in the primary and other of the lower grades in our schools ought to be hailed as a public benefactor. Poor indeed is that soul

— no poverty so dire in all the world — whose nature does not respond to the myriad influences that come pouring in upon it from the great pulsing heart of nature.

There is nothing that reveals our crudeness as a nation so much as our inability to profitably use leisure. We don't know how to have a good time in a quiet, leisurely, wholesome fashion. Few men among us retire from business, no matter how much money we may have accumulated. They would not know what to do with themselves, their resources are so limited. It is a sad thing when a man or woman has not developed interests and powers sufficient to fill out a life of happiness and usefulness except in the rushing activities of business. Women are now the great leisure class. The opportunity for culture which leisure gives to many women is being well improved. They are broadening out rapidly in interest and intellect.

Another need is solitude, if we are to get the real good from the world in which we live. We are not enough alone with nature. We do not give ourselves often enough the opportunity for quiet enjoyment of tree and grass, of flowers and bird note. Even when we go into the woods or the mountains we are prone to spend the time in restless activity, instead of quietly drinking in its inspiration. If we find ourselves restless when alone, we should take warning. No life can afford to lose the power to enjoy solitude. "Be still and know that I am God" [Psalm 46:10]. This is the secret of all deep undercurrents that make life rich in sweetness and self-praise.

Live in the now. No other injunction obeyed would add more pleasure to the life of most of us than this. Take fully into our souls every expression that comes. Let us then on this festival of flowers enter anew into a consecrated life with nature. Let us worship daily with our senses as well as with

our minds and hearts, and this only means to put our minds and hearts into our senses and altogether to enter into our divine heritage of full, delightful life.

Philip S. Thacher

The Present Heaven

12 January 1902

"AWAY WITH THIS TALK about 'going to heaven.' We do not go to heaven, but heaven comes to us."

In these words Rev. Philip S. Thacher summed up his argument for a "Present Heaven" in his sermon at the Salt Lake Theatre yesterday morning. He denounced the people who think it necessary to wear solemn and gloomy faces on Sunday, and insisted that smiles and cheerfulness were as much in place at church as anywhere else. Help and sympathy, he said, were the conditions that brought heaven to earth and made life cheerful and worth living.

"The world we live in is beautiful and throbs with happy life," said Mr. Thacher in part. "The ugly things are only the unfinished things, like statues half hewn. Pain is a sign to warn us from danger. Unhappiness is only the discord we make in learning to play creation's music. Yes, heaven is right here, where the children are laughing and romping, and where young mothers teach them to pray. Away with the talk about 'going to heaven.' We do not go to heaven, but heaven comes to us. Yet how many wear gloomy and solemn faces, especially on Sundays, and think they must not smile on the way to church, but walk bolt upright and look very unhappy, as if God were an almighty policeman ready to arrest them, if he caught them in the possession of a smile. There is no greater libel than that conventional religion which represents the way downward as a flowery way. 'The

primrose path to the everlasting bonfire' [cf. Macbeth 2.3.19], as Shakespeare phrases it. Any prophecy firmly believed in works in many ways to get itself fulfilled. We find that for which we ardently seek, and lose that about which we are skeptical. Take it for granted that heaven is here, and every moment you will make those about you feel as if watching angels were winnowing the atmosphere with their wings.

"Heaven comes in through our physical nature whenever we let it. You may make a little hell in your stomach, but if you do, you will miss something that all the joys of eternity will never make amends for. Half of what is called sin is simply disease. Open the window of good sense, and heaven will come in through your reason. Do not imagine that swans swim in every puddle, or that oranges grow on every sage brush. Do not think that all church members are saints, or all women angels. If you want anything you must seek it where it can be found. If you want heaven you must comply with the conditions that make heaven, and these conditions are known to you. Wherever a soul tries to help another, it enters heaven. The odors of the orange grove are wafted to us long before we enter it. So when we perceive the fragrance of good deeds we cannot mistake the nearness of heaven, for the air is so heavenly. The truest comfort of your own sorrows is to be found in kindling smiles on the faces of others. Never does your burden seem so light as when you are trying to help another whose strength is giving way. The divinest thing on earth is help. He who cares for nobody but himself is lost already to that effort which makes heaven, and is like a bee sitting on a flower from which no honey can be sucked."

William H. Fish, Jr.

The History of the Devil

13 December 1903

THE BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH of his satanic majesty presented by the speaker gave him anything but a good character. His history was traced from the time of the apple incident in the garden down through the period of his almost supreme reign in the days of witchcraft, and with some attention being given to his almost complete loss of prestige and power over the minds of mankind in these later days. The traditions of different ancient peoples concerning the personification of evil were recounted and it was pointed out that the devil was given little attention in the earliest Jewish history, his real reign having begun about the time of the captivity and reached the height of its influence in the dark days of the Christian era. The conclusion was that the devil was the offspring of ignorance and fear, the unlearned's explanation of physical evils. "Luther and Wesley," the speaker said, "attributed certain diseases directly to the evil one, but in this day the educated men who would do this would be suspected of mental aberration. Evil is now recognized as merely an incident in the development of good; it is something of our own doing and is not to be charged to a power over which we have no control."

Franklin F. Eddy

The Church of the Holy Ghost or the Church of the Human Spirit — Which?

21 April 1907

WE READ in John that Jesus said to His disciples in the course of His last discourse to them, "It is expedient for you that I go away; for if I go not away the comforter will not come unto you" [John 16:7]. And in a later verse he assures them that "When He, the spirit of truth, is come He will guide you unto all truth" [cf. John 16:13]. Such words are natural enough for the Christ of the Fourth Gospel to utter. This Christ was a being who incarnated the spirit of wisdom, the logos, and as such monopolized during the period of corporate existence in the human form the very principle of truth itself. But the Christ of John's gospel is as fictitious, as much a creation of the imagination, as Milton's Satan. When we turn from John to read the other three gospels we are in a different atmosphere. We now get broken and fragmentary accounts of one Jesus of Nazareth, evidently enough a man, talking and acting as other men do. This man is strikingly different from the celestial visitant of Paul's vision, or the hero of that book of philosophical fiction we call the Fourth Gospel.

This difference is fundamental. The kind of a church we can construct with Christ the God-man as the central figure must differ radically from the church we build about the life and sayings of Jesus the Nazarene. We are all familiar with the church of the first type. It is the church which asserts a

peculiar and divine origin for itself; which assumes the dispensation of all the merit which was in this Christ-God and proclaims that the Holy Ghost resides in it as a guiding principle. I need not tell you that these are familiar assumptions on the part of the Christian church of the past. In the creeds of Christendom the neo-Platonic philosophy and the theology of Paul are strangely jumbled, but they reflect not at all the loving democrat, Jesus.

But this type of church did not end with yesterday. It survives in today, with all the outward signs of power, privilege, and wealth. All of the Christian church which is allowed to call itself orthodox, makes these old assumptions still in creed, if not from pulpit. But we hear on all sides laments over the prevalent religious indifference and tales of woe relating to the unchurched army, that the church is rapidly losing its directing power because it has lost in no small measure its vital relationship to modern life. We also see on the part of the Protestant church of diverse denominations an attempt to put the new wine into the old bottles. There is a vast output of books of apologetics largely concerned with matters of definition. The purpose of the authors of these useless and soon-to-be-forgotten books seems to be to indicate a way of retaining the phraseology of the old doctrines and yet make them carry new and modern meanings. While this work is largely wasted, it does indicate the general drift of religious thought.

But why can we not organize a church on the basis of the greatness in man? There is friendship to build upon, said by some to be the master passion. [Petr Aleksieevich] Kropotkin tells us that mutual aid is one of the prime factors in the evolutionary process. Assuming this, our effort becomes scientific if it is filled with the ideal of friendly service.

Mr. Eddy then went on to show that there is in humanity a warmth of sympathy, a bond of comradeship, and a capacity for heroism upon which a church may be founded. In conclusion he said: Such a church must be homocentric, not Christo-centric. This world and this present humanity must be its chief concern, rather than preparation for a future estate. In our Unitarian church we are making just this attempt to construct a church of men, by men and for men. We find leadership in Jesus the man rather than in Christ the God. We are making the most significant experiment to modern religious life by supplanting the church of the Holy Ghost with the church of the human spirit.

William Thurston Brown

The Need of Religion as a Means of Knowing the Real Value of Things

c. 1908–1910

To this end was I born and for this cause am I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth [cf. John 18:37].

Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you [Matthew 6:33]. — Jesus.

I AM GOING to talk to you about the need of religion as a means of knowing the real value of things. And let me say right here that this is exactly what the true minister of religion is for — this and nothing else. This is the only thing that can excuse a man for being a minister, the only thing that makes a man a minister, the only thing that makes it worth while to have churches or preachers or Sunday services. If you will think about it, you will see that slowly but surely the minister has been driven out of every other place or occupation he has ever filled in the community, and the only thing that is left him that makes it right for him to accept the support of his fellow men is his ability to show men and women the real value of things — of their life and all that goes with it. And if he can do that — by his words or by his deeds or by both — he is doing the highest and best service that can be done in this world or any other world. For there is no knowledge men and women can have that is to be compared with the knowledge of real values. Without that knowledge, life is a failure for anyone. With that knowledge received, accepted and applied, no life can ever

no such word as failure in the vocabulary of the religious man. It doesn't exist for him. And there is no other word than failure in the vocabulary of the man or woman who lacks religion. It is worth while to live at all, only if you know what is worth while and do what is worth while. And right here is where the need of religion may be seen as nowhere else.

But this has not always been seen to be the business of a minister or a church, and it is not always seen to be that now. Let me tell you why. During the years that followed the death of Jesus — the years when the writings of the New Testament were taking shape — a very different idea of religion from what I am speaking about and different from what Jesus taught and lived grew up. It was during those years after Jesus had died that religion came to be thought of as a preparation for life beyond the grave. I say "came to be thought of" in that way. For if you will read over the reported words of Jesus, you will find no such idea of religion at all. Religion, to Jesus, had nothing whatever to do with a future world — it had to do with this world now and here. But very much of the later writings of the New Testament have to do with a life beyond death. Why was that? Because within a very few years after the death of Jesus the church which took him as its founder was made up almost wholly of the slave class of the Roman Empire. Those later writings were bound to reflect, and do reflect, the outlook of that slave class. Religion could not possibly seem the same thing to the enslaved Gentile classes of the Roman Empire that it would seem to Jews, with their agelong love and struggle for liberty. So, Christianity, which in the teachings of Jesus deals wholly with the present life, became in the minds of the Gentile Christian slaves of the Empire a matter of the future life.

Why? Because those slaves had no hope of anything better in this life. They could see no use for religion in this life, because there was not the remotest hope of escape from their slavery. They therefore made religion almost solely the concern of a future life. That is what anyone now will do, what every one now does, who sees no hope of perfect fulfillment of our ideals of justice and love now and here. All through these 19 centuries to our own time hardly a man has understood this simple fact of history which is now becoming clear and plain to increasing numbers of thinking people. The great mass of people, never stopping to look for causes, thinking it sinful and wrong to ask any question about such sacred things as the words of the bible and the teachings of the church, have been trying to force on themselves and others religious ideas and teachings which merely reflect the despairing outlook of hopeless slaves. In other words, the Christianity which the church has been teaching for about 1600 years has been a religion of slaves, by slaves, and for slaves.

But a great many things have happened during these nineteen centuries. Vast and far-reaching changes have taken place, and the world of today is as different from that ancient world almost as day is different from night. Think how this change has affected the minister and the church. Ministers were thought of for centuries as having the keys of that future heaven of which men were taught and able to say who should enter and who should not. That old idea still lives in the custom of the Catholic priest of giving absolution or forgiveness of sins to dying persons, and in the similar custom of millions of Protestant people of sending for a minister when a friend or relative seems about to die. Until a century or two ago, the priest or minister was everywhere the most learned man in the community. For centuries practically all

the scholars of Europe were priests. Kings and queens there were who could neither read nor write, not even their own names. Learning is power — and the priest was everywhere the most powerful man in the community, the pope the most powerful man in Christendom — no wonder kings and emperors took orders from him.

But now, all that is changed. The priest or minister is nowhere the most learned man, nowhere the most powerful man. He can no longer be the teacher of the community. He has less civic or political power than men of other professions. He is not the healer of disease nor the settler of disputes — these functions have been taken by the physician and the lawyer. He cannot compete with the theater or the opera as an entertainer. That is not his business. No thinking man believes today that any priest or minister has anything to say or even knows anything about who may or who may not enter a future heaven. For all who think, religion has nothing to do with a future life — it has to do with this present world alone. The world can no longer think about a future life, as it once did. By hopeless slaves, robbed of all that could make life glad and sweet and happy or even decent here, the future life was pictured as one of rich rewards, wealth beyond measure, ease, music, pleasure, endless relief from toil and hardship. Today we are coming to see that if life continues beyond death, it cannot be very different from this life because it must be made up of exactly the same people as have composed this world. And religion is again being seen to be concerned alone with life, not death, with the present, not the future. So we are beginning to see, as Jesus did, that religion must give men and women a true and satisfying standard of values. Your only need of religion is your need of a way of seeing things and dealing with things and valuing things which will make life seem to you divinely

worth while. Will you not agree with me, then, that nothing a man can have or know in this or any other world can be so good as to be able to face any event of life, any condition of things, no matter what, and yet be unshaken by it, be serenely sure that it is worth while to live?

Let me make myself clearly understood. It isn't enough that one should feel contented with one's lot. I suppose a well-fed animal is contented. Life seems worth while to such an animal. But that cannot be a standard for any human. Men and women must have such a standard of values as no growth of knowledge or need can make worthless. Our friends, the Christian Scientists, with all the helpful things in their faith, are open to the charge of shutting their eyes to some things, of attempting to get rid of real problems simply by denying their existence. You can't solve any real moral problem of life nor any social problem by denying its existence, and the service of real religion is that of enabling men and women to face all the facts and all the events of life just as they are and yet know that life is worth while. Religion cannot make good unless it solves *every* problem, meets *every* event, triumphs over *every* obstacle. Let me try to tell you how religion has done exactly that and always will be able to do that.

The other day a well known mining man committed suicide in this city. Here was a man in the prime of life, with an unusually successful career behind him, according to all the common ways of measuring success, and apparently everything to live for, according to the usual standards. He had been the associate of the world's leading civil engineer — the highest salaried man ever known. He had been in the service of Cecil Rhodes in South Africa, of the Guggenheims here, had made a fortune more than once, and within less than a year had married a young and lovely woman. Under the system in which we live, no man with such a career as

he need despair of some employment. And yet, when he faced the fact of adversity, when he met the stern necessity of at least a temporary change in his manner of life, when he stood face to face with the possibility of a material condition in which over ten million people in this country now live their whole lives, and with the added comfort of the love and devotion of a young and charming wife, his soul shriveled and collapsed, and he took his own life. Such was the interpretation put upon his suicide by those who presumably know the facts. Life on the terms which he was facing didn't seem worth living — and he was right, absolutely right. Life as he saw it was not worth living, isn't worth living for any one. The only reason there are not ten times as many suicides as there are is because such a small number of people ever do any thinking, or because so many people fear death more than they fear to live on any terms. It is no virtue that millions of men and women do not commit suicide — no virtue at all, only ignorance or superstition. For it isn't a bit better to live a merely animal life than it is to end a worthless existence.

But the need of religion is vastly more than the need of something to prevent suicide. It is the need of something to prevent the waste of life in mere animalism. We men and women need nothing so much as we need a purpose in living which makes us equal to every emergency, enables us to keep our feet anywhere, which no event of life or death can disturb. What purpose or thought of life can do that?

I would not raise that question, if I could not answer it. I can and will answer it. But first let me remind you that there are ways of looking at life and estimates of it which do not answer that question. Why did this man commit suicide? It is no answer to say he was insane. Insanity is only a disease, often a disease of the mind produced by nothing but moral

causes. Every false or evil thing in human life is only a form of insanity in exactly the same way. Really, the thing best worth knowing in this case is that this man who committed suicide was not a man inspired by religion. He may have been a church member, may have believed in the bible or in some creed in exactly the same way that millions of men and women so believe. But his life was in no sense a religious life. I say this without the least disrespect for him. He probably never had any chance to know what religion is. How is a man to know religion if he never hears about it, if no convincing example of it exists in some man or woman whom he knows, exists so powerfully and persuasively that the world is forced to take notice? This man probably never had any conception of the values which religion gives. If the common judgment as to the cause of his suicide is correct, he accepted a set of values which no human being can afford to accept, though millions do accept them. It seemed necessary to him that a man should be prosperous, should have money, should have the power which wealth gives, if life was to be worth living. In that he was not singular. To be stripped of all these, to face poverty, the immediate necessity that both he and his wife become laborers for a living, seemed to him utterly unendurable. He had lived all his mature life in the atmosphere of that power which wealth gives to its possessors — that was what the world meant to him. That was life. That was the atmosphere of all his associations in South Africa, of all his financial operations in this country. That was life for him. That colored everything for him. That gave to marriage and home life all their meaning to him, as it does for thousands. Where did he get that valuation of life? He got it where about nine-tenths of us get our standards of value — from the commercial and industrial system in which we live, and in which most of us

believe. That system doesn't give any one any other or higher standard of values, because it hasn't any other. And here is the source and spring of the whole moral problem of our human world today — that the vast majority of us, no matter what our professions or church relations, accept as our measure of values and rule of conduct the sordid and false standard which the temporary form of society in which we live imposes upon us. What does the world say to us most plainly, most forcibly? This: "Your great business is to get ahead commercially, to be It, to get power, to be rich, to hold office, to control things." And if we fail in any enterprise, our failure seems a great calamity. To lose a fortune, to drop down from financial independence to penury, to fail in business, to lose the place of master and have to beg for a job, is counted far worse than stealing — big stealing — is counted as shameful as a crime, becomes nothing less than a tragedy, and thousands of homes are hopelessly wrecked by it.

Now let me set over against that way of valuing life the standard by which religion values life. What does life mean from the view point of religion? How does a really religious man think of life? We can best find the answer to that question by seeing how some man whom we all regard as religious lives his life, and what his valuation of things is. First of all, take the case of Jesus. It wasn't necessary for Jesus to put in words the meaning of his life, because every religious man is bound to reveal that meaning in what he does. But Jesus did put his purpose in words, for when Pilate, a few hours before he sentenced Jesus to be crucified, asked him what he was living for, Jesus replied: "To this end was I born and for this cause am I come into the world, that I should bear witness to the truth." I don't know of any better statement of what religion means for any man who

has it at all, what it has meant and always will mean for such men. Religion is simply and only your life purpose, what you are living for. It can't be less than that. It can't be something for Sunday and churches and rites and forms. It cannot be less than the thing you live for. That is religion. And the really religious man does not live by the standards or values which some temporary kind of social order gives. He lives by a standard which is not for a day or a year or even a lifetime, but for far more than that. He sees that the real need of men and women is not bread and butter — though these are necessary in their place — nor wealth, or prominence, or power, which are quite as often the undoing of life as they are the making of men — but to know the truth, to serve with all one has of power or ability some cause or purpose which means the happiness and good of all.

That describes the life and career of Jesus. At no time and in no way was happiness or success for him dependent upon any event that might befall him. It wasn't necessary for him to succeed in business, to hold office, to gain power. He not only did not succeed in business, but he didn't try. It didn't seem worth while to him, because he knew something infinitely better than that. There is now and always something infinitely better than that. He had nowhere to lay his head, but there isn't a man or woman in the world who doesn't know that the life and career of Jesus was incomparably better worthwhile than that of any man in all history who has owned palaces or princely estates. Isn't that true? Jesus had only one object in living: to bear witness to the truth. If he hadn't known a truth of such all-embracing worth, of such unspeakable value, that without it the world would not be worth while, he never would have been heard of. What was that truth? His own life is the answer. What was his life? What made him what he was? Shall we say:

He was born so? That is no answer. No man is born so. We are all born without any character. Every babe is a savage. The babe Jesus was no exception. There is no way of explaining the life of Jesus so complete or true as by the one word "sympathy." What is sympathy? It is the divinest quality we human beings possess. It is the power to put ourselves in the place of others, to feel with them, to weep with those that weep, to laugh with those that laugh, to feel, as if it were our own, the lot of all our fellow men. That is sympathy. And the possession of sympathy, deep, strong, true, complete — that is the very soul of religion. Whoever has that has religion. That is the magic key that unlocks the door of knowledge, of wisdom, of education. There are no great, noble, worthy facts or truths in all the range of human possibility, that can be known without sympathy. It wasn't schooling that made Jesus wise, just as it wasn't schooling that made Lincoln wise or any other soul in human history who has shown surpassing wisdom. Jesus knew little of books and nothing of the world's great literature. It was the wonderful power of sympathy that gave him a wisdom which stands unparalleled in the annals of man.

The one thing which made Jesus what he was and has been for all these centuries was knowledge of a purpose for the world which could make all life sacred. His sense of that purpose was his abiding faith that the supreme Power of the universe is a Power which may be thought of as Our Father, and therefore that all men are members of one family and can know life at all as it is only as they know each other as brothers and sisters. What was the logic of that knowledge? That he should live as a brother. And that is all that Jesus did. That completely describes him. As the brother, not of a few, but of all. Is it not significant that very early in the years which followed his death, his disciples and all who

loved and revered his memory came to think of him as the Elder Brother? That is the very term that is applied to him in those writings. The life of the world's greatest example of religion was supremely a brotherly life. Is it not perfectly clear that no kind of failure in business, no loss of property, no failure to gain office or power, can in the least disturb such a man? He cannot be disturbed by such things simply because they are not what he is aiming at. He knows that the world was not made for such little things as gain or riches or power. He knows that these cannot be a measure of the values of life, cannot satisfy life. He knows not only that man does not live by bread alone, but that even bread is a secondary consideration and will be in any world that knows the meaning of religion. *Wherever bread, for any person, is or must be the primary consideration of a life or of lives, there religion cannot be.* The real satisfactions of life are and must be the things which grow out of sympathy, friendship, comradeship, love. And it is eternally true — as much so today as 2000 years ago — as much 2000 years hence — that to the man who seeks first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and to him alone, all else that life needs shall be added.

This quality of life, this estimate of what we are in the world for, which accounts for Jesus, is the very soul of religion. It is no more confined to him than the human face or form was confined to him — it belongs as much to you and me and all mankind, as it does to him. It is that quality of life, appearing in men like you and me here and there, which more than anything else bespeaks an Infinite Goodness in the world.

Fifty years ago, in an old cabin up among the mountains of Maryland, a young man of 24 was writing a letter to his young wife away up among the Adirondack mountains in northern New York. He was a son of John Brown. There

was nothing superhuman about the young man. He was only a man like one of us. Up yonder in the Adirondacks was a young wife whom he loved and a little son whom he had never seen — whom he never should see. Within a few weeks he was dead, shot to death in the attempt at Harper's Ferry to make a beginning of the freeing of the enslaved Negroes of this nation. Why is this young man there? Why did he not do as other young men did? Why should he thus leave his young wife, why have no care for the pursuits and ambitions which claimed the lives and energies of ninety-nine out of every hundred men like him? Was it because he had taken seriously the words of one who said: "Whosoever would save his life shall lose it, but whosoever will lose his life for my sake shall find it." Was it because something of the spirit of him who said: "Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me" had taken possession of his soul? Let us read what he has written in that last letter to his wife:

We have only two black men with us now; one of these has a wife and seven children in slavery. I sometimes feel as if I could not make the sacrifice; but what would I want others to do, were I in their place? Oh, Bell, I do want to see you and the little fellow very much, but I must wait. There was a slave near here whose wife was sold off South the other day, and he was found in Thomas Kennedy's orchard, dead, the next morning. Cannot come home so long as such things are done here. I sometimes think perhaps we shall not meet again. If we should not, you have an object to live for — to be a mother to our little Fred. We leave here this afternoon or tomorrow for the last time. There was another murder committed near our place the other day, making in all five murders and one suicide within five miles of our place since we have lived there; they were all slaves, too. Give my regards to all the friends, and keep up good courage: there is a better day a-coming. Believe me yours wholly and forever in love. Your husband, Watson Brown.

Just two days before his execution by hanging, the father of that young man, John Brown, wrote these words in his last letter to those at home:

I am awaiting the hour of my public murder with great composure of mind and cheerfulness; feeling the strong assurance that in no other possible way could I be used to so much advantage to the cause of God and humanity, and that nothing that either I or my family have sacrificed or suffered will be lost.

Men and women, it is of such souls as these, and of no others, that it can ever be truthfully said that their souls "are marching on." It is such quality of life as this that knows no such thing as failure. It was from such a spring of heroism as is here described, and from no other source, that there could come what the historian, Von Holst, calls "the mightiest moral and spiritual impulse this nation has known." Prophetically did Edmond Sears write for the service at Concord the day John Brown was hanged:

Not any spot six feet by two will hold a man like thee;
John Brown will tramp the shaking earth from Blue Ridge
to the sea,
Till the strong angel comes at last and opes each dungeon door,
And God's Great Charter holds and waves o'er all his humble
poor.

Why could the career of John Brown inspire the soul of historian and poet with such tributes as were paid him? Why the contrast between him and other men? Let the words of a contemporary answer: "He believed in God and justice, and in nothing else; we believe in everything else, but not in God."

A few weeks ago fire broke out in a coal mine in Illinois. Nearly four hundred men were in that mine, digging coal.

What were they digging coal for? Was it to make it certain that thousands of men and women and children, far and wide, would be warm and well through the winter days? No. They were digging coal solely because it meant profits to the owners of that mine to have coal dug. Profit to individual owners of coal land, not the welfare of consumers nor even a decent living for the men who dig the coal, was and is the sole reason why those men were in that mine. And for their labor those coal miners receive barely sufficient wages to enable them to keep up that toilsome monotony till they drop into their graves. Why did fire break out in the mine? Because the owners of the mine had compelled the use of torches instead of electric light, and mules instead of electric power. The falling of a torch into the hay kept for the mules started the fire. Why was not the mine equipped with electric light and power? Because men are cheaper than light or power. What was it, then, that sacrificed the lives of nearly four hundred men, and left women widows and children orphans? Just one thing: an industrial system which reduces human life to a mere commodity, to be bought and sold at a profit. For two hours after the fire broke out, instead of getting the men out of the mine with the utmost speed, the hoisting of coal went right on. Why? Because capitalism makes men cheaper than coal. And then for five days the mine was sealed by the owners, with over 350 men below, half of them or more alive. Why was the mine sealed? To save coal, to save profit for the owners. Then the mine was unsealed, and over a score of miners were rescued almost dead. Are the owners of that mine fiends? Not as the word "fiends" is commonly understood. They are very much like you and me. They are fathers and mothers, brothers and sisters, husbands and wives. They have homes of their own. It is only in their social relationship that they are fiends. What makes them so? An industrial

system which permits the private ownership of the sources of life and the means of existence. That, and nothing else. Is this story of what happened in that Illinois coal mine something exceptional? No, it is just one little momentary incident in the widespread tragedy which is going on day after day and year after year in every State and every city of the United States. Do you think a man like Jesus would not know all the facts of this widespread tragedy? And what do you think such a man as he would do with his life in view of such facts? Would not religion mean to such a man the devotion of every capacity and every energy of life to the making of a world in which such things could not be?

Fred M. Bennett

The Fundamental Principles of a Liberal Religion

8 September 1912

REASON AND FREEDOM in religion as in other things was the theme upon which the speaker dwelt.

"Jesus was in constant opposition to theocracy," said the Rev. Mr. Bennett. "He worked quietly and without ostentation, using the scriptures freely and forgiving without ceremony. He read the scriptures at home and it is recorded that he broke off in the middle of a sentence to say that part of the scriptures had been fulfilled. He did not use the scriptures as a final authority but as a guide to truth. He asked no one to imitate and it was his attitude toward freedom that caused his death. There has been no greater leader of democracy than was Jesus of Nazareth. The scriptures form a progressive, gradually unfolding guide."

The speaker compared the views of the Roman Catholic, the Evangelical Protestant and the Unitarian, as he understood them. "For the first of these," he said, "the supreme authority was centered in the church, where the pope is regarded as the vicar of Christ. The pope, as the interpreter uses reason, but he is supposed to be divinely inspired. The Roman Catholic church, however, has been, and is, a great power for good. It has held a great place as an educator and a preserver of art and literature.

"With the Evangelical Protestant, on the other hand, the supreme authority is the Bible. Martin Luther first made that claim and he was forced to make it because he denied the

authority of the pope and, being afraid to stand on his own reason, he had no other ground on which to stand. He and his followers regarded the Bible as a closed and completed revelation. This assumption has been pushed to a remarkable extreme and has caused many mistakes.

"But the attitude toward the scriptures is gradually changing. The Bible is a rich deposit of religious writings that it took a thousand years to write. It is a history of human and religious writings and not an inspired authority. Human reason is the authority on which we must stand. Freedom comes through choosing the best, however, and not through license.

"Doubts are the voice of God putting questions to our souls. There is keen joy in pursuit and we should learn to see the truth in erroneous doctrines. Freedom always makes an allowance for personal equation. The man who dwells on fallible reason weighs his deeds on his own scales. Reason is not infallible, but struggling on such a foundation we may look forward to a more perfect one.

"There is no infallible authority in religion and none is needed. If there were an infallible authority, there would be no room left for faith and love and there would be no religious history. Because of this man has been able to exercise faith and he builds on partial truth to the ideal truth. Through memory, reason, history, tradition and conscience we learn to love God and this leads to freedom that lifts us above the petty things of life."

John Malick

The Work of a Unitarian Church

c. 1913-18

ONE OF THE THINGS that first impressed me in the Harvard Divinity School was the matter of course habit of mind toward Unitarianism by those bred in the purple. "Of course it is a good thing. Were we not reared in it as an atmosphere? It gives content and respectability. It is of the elect and for the elect. It is the pearl of great price; but who expects every Tom, Dick and Harry to wear pearls?" One to whom it is a message of deliverance looks upon this attitude as the early plebeian Christians must have looked at the content of patrician Rome. The dramatic situation in orthodoxy is just the contrast, viz.: over against the low condition of Natural man is set the great fact of deliverance; not only the great salvation but what a man is saved from. This provincial way of looking at Unitarianism must come from not knowing Unitarianism or not knowing orthodoxy. Liberalism is first of all a deliverance from orthodoxy — orthodoxy in government, literature and religion. Over against the wide horizon and grander view of life, one must place the intellectual barrenness, the misplaced emphasis, the diminished life chances in orthodoxy as it is at work, molding and suppressing community thought, in the average religious community.

One who imagines that this is not a tragic difference, or that the whole has now been leavened by our habit of mind, may like Thoreau have traveled extensively in his native place but he does not know the prevailing religion in the United

States. This observance stage does not appreciate the mighty transforming power of our faith, as it enters a life for the first time and lifts a new generation into sweeter, [sic] present God, who, from the dawn of time, has been doing his orderly work nor wishes to blot it out. Those of us who have felt and watched the redemptive power of the influence of Horace Mann in central Ohio, which change of management and effort have not been able to diminish in these fifty years, believe in observance, but also in propagation and redemptive power of free thought.

Given then this conviction that there is a dark background of need, the conviction that this proposition of liberalism is life-giving because it meets the pragmatic test, it has "workings" in human life; given the conception of it as a thing not only to be observed but propagated and used as a redemptive process, how objectify these convictions?

The mystic church that appears through every age and clime, that descended like the New Jerusalem from above, being a hard thing to put your hand on in this twentieth century, we have chosen the best modern human machinery, a corporation. It has the advantage of giving a legal entity in perpetuity, apart from the people who make it up. So far as the state or business wishes to deal with it, there is something to get at. It is not terminated by the addition of new individuals or the dropping out of old, as is an association or a partnership. It has a board of directors or trustees who, either alone or with the whole group, choose an acting manager, one who knows the business of conserving its interest and getting the thing for which the corporation stands, to market. This acting manager, called a minister, originally had a status which was conferred on him by law both common and ecclesiastical, but, among us, his condition has risen from status

to contract. For a consideration on one side he agrees to conserve the interests and spread the thing for which the corporate existence was granted by the state. Whatever more we may add to it, this relation of the acting manager is certainly not less than contract. The old Jewish literature has a saying that there is a time to serve God by breaking his commandments. There are times when the higher ethics may demand that contracts be broken, other more important things done not enumerated in the strict letter of the bond. But it is a liberty more often abused, by resident managers of church corporations than in any other field of contract relations. It is only the inherent generosity of our people that saves us from a damage suit for breach of contract. We are strong on sidelines of work, strenuously active in all those fields which are in the transition process of going over to the field of specialization. Few churches have given up as large a per cent of men to other fields of humanitarian work.

I have listened often, in indifferently worked fields, to the story of how the minister gave his time to this work or that, often to his own strength of reputation and his parishioners' pride but at the cost of the definite thing committed to his hands. This man was a good farmer but not much of a preacher. He accomplished much with his hobby but the church rather went to pieces under his management. We are such rampant individualists. We have so many interests in thought and work that we easily spread out and stagnate, while the world works today with a concentrated stream, driven by force, to a definite point of contact. Not only in our western but in our eastern churches, we do suffer great loss from this smudging over the line between the work that our men are trained to do and employed to do and the work which they are neither trained to do nor employed to do.

Our shepherds get so busy pounding among the rocks with their geologic hammers, examining the flowers and looking at the birds and stars, that they hardly know how many have left the fold. We lose much in denominational power, lose the cumulative effect that could come if each man could not only see his work steadily and see it whole, but also see its natural boundary lines and allow each succeeding man, as in the ancient games, to snatch the torch from runner still.

We are familiar with the law of life that sets apart an organ in the body or in society for a special work joining them together in a larger unity, the body or society. It has been the good fortune of the church to join temporarily in history with the great forces of human society. She has given birth to many great humanitarian movements, which have gone out into the world and do not know their own mother. This is especially true of our own church.

Because of mixed motives, the church took a hand in government, played king, became an astute politician, played according to the rules of the game, not of her spiritual but her temporal side. It is now the best judgment of the world that the church was not a success at governing. It was not good for the church.

The church was schoolmaster and saved to us through the Middle Ages much learning of the past. There was no other institution to do it. But the judgment of history is that the church is too slow to teach. She is not responsive to change. A fact is already old before she takes courage to give it. One has but to know the science department of a denominational college to know that this is true.

The church played doctor. She was nurse and sat by beds of pain and administered healing according to her knowledge. But this is a field for special work. Men who speak with accuracy say that healing and surgery were much

delayed by the church playing doctor and acting as censor for the healing art.

The church controlled art. In the conventional picture in sacred art she named the subjects and the grouping and left the artist to do the handwork. But art got nowhere until it became free. The church would have made Michael Angelo carve figures out of snow. Art is a field for specialists. We do not wish the church to control.

The church had her ecclesiastical courts, in which she tried certain cases and long insisted on the control of certain of her own peculiar cases by her own rules of law. It is now the best judgment of men that the judiciary is not a proper field for the church.

The transition, carrying charity over to trained hands, came in our own time. I remember hearing the regret expressed that the church gave up this last great opportunity to show to the world her right to exist for useful work. Men in the school were hesitating between the ministry and relief work. Those who were convinced that the field of relief is the real work, looked on the regular ministry in a patronizing and critical way. Their attitude was comparable only to the youth who goes out to meet his fellows after reading Emerson's "Self-Reliance" for the first time. But the time had come to choose the field. Relief work had come to be a field for specialists. While it was done by our men in the early days, it was found that religious forces are too much divided. Relief work demanded a clearing house both for the intake and the outgo and trained management. Who would say that charity is not administered better now than by the church?

We are in the midst of a transition process. What is the message, for the furtherance of which we should connect up this church machinery? This came about both naturally and

quickly in our body. Nature is indifferent to individual failure and blotting out. She is careful of the type. This law has been operative, very generally, in human society. Taking cognizance of human failures is a new force in human society. The factory population and immigration brought to our doors a new realization of the human wreckage that goes down in the unequal struggle for existence. Our own men in Boston and New York, who began to delve into this human scrap pile, instituted the first relief offered. They collected facts, and sought for cause. Perhaps few pulpits more than our own diffused this knowledge among the people. Then the why of this repetition of charity every generation. Social philosophers went deeper. This wreckage, they said, is the fruit of our industrial life. Charity became out of date, as originally administered, and work was entered following longer lines. The humanitarian instinct, strong within us, took up the new industrial freedom, reaching in some cases eighty per cent of the whole number of discourses for the year. Many saw in the new time the moral crisis of the slavery days and heard the abolition call. Pulpit and the church machinery must be connected up with the economic program. The average minister, who is a middle-of-the-road man, was another hated by one group because he went so far and the other group because he did not go far enough.

This abolition aggressiveness which would hitch not only the church wagon but all wagons to its star, is an unfortunate analogy. Slavery, as an institution, went out of the world with the fourteenth century. Its lingering here was the last stand of the institution. It covered only a part of the country. The economic problem is as old as humanity and will continue as long as humanity is here. If the church is to enter the field as a specialist in applied economics, it enters on a long career. It is not the temporarily getting back of a

moral movement, like a church throwing itself into a city campaign, that is soon over and the regular church lines resumed. It is not like the church putting all of its machinery back of the slavery question which could have a definite settlement. The status of freedom once reached, the church could pursue its regular lines.

The abolition movement is an unfortunate analogy again because it did not lead to a settlement of the slavery question in the Unitarian way, by the victory of the qualities of life which we exist to establish. It was not settled in the highest possible way and just as far as the qualities of life, that our churches exist to inculcate, have become general, just that far is the black man free today and just that far has reconstruction gone. The thing that every wise reformer fears most is the come back, the reaction that follows any legislation. This reaction is decreased just in proportion as these qualities of life take hold of men, the qualities that we exist to establish. Looking at the economic problem a hundred years down the line, who could say, that the simple work of a Unitarian church is not the most lasting contribution?

There is a certain defined work which our churches have always done. There are certain other things, we have seen, they did for a time until the work went over to special fields. I say a clearly defined field of work and also a clearly defined field of thought. Against the idea that we begin everywhere and end nowhere, that Unitarianism is not unitary, I have come to think that we have a certain universality and unity, more remarkable, because it is not the likeness that comes from lopping off and preening back, but from free growth. Go into any one of our churches in any part of the country and one has the home feeling, finds the same body of belief, service, habit of mind. Here is freedom of expansion yet the very unity which the mother church claims and secures by

mind. Here is freedom of expansion yet the very unity which the mother church claims and secures by suppression.

Has anything arisen that justifies any great departure from this very clearly defined field of work? I have, for some time, been viewing the Unitarian church as a layman, watching its workings and its products. The test of a man's philosophy of life is this, would he give it to his children? I have thought over the institutions, outside the home, that have a part in shaping a child's life, in sending out forceful men and women. Cause and effect are sometimes hard to trace but I have more confidence in a free church being able to bring out the best in a boy or girl and adding to his own best than any institution I know. Because there are so many young lives, whom we have known, whom we will not be able to reach in their generation, because we are conscious of their loss, we look upon the passive observance stage and any effort to sidetrack our well tried field of work, as little less than a calamity.

I am more and more impressed with the need of our work among all groups of people, without regard to their economic condition. I am never more impressed with this need than in the group which has come into possessions and continues to live just the live animal existence with better food and more trappings. We have a message of deliverance and enduring satisfaction for this group.

A large part of the population of our county is making the comforts, living in the atmosphere defined by orthodoxy, good only as one is good who has not fallen into a few of the vices. They are mentally indolent, much more so than the group that is doing the agitating in modern society. Here is quantitatively our great field of work, to leaven this group with the influence of a free church in their midst. For us to sidetrack on anything that is not an absolute requisite of our

throwing away a great opportunity with this group.

There is another group which is intellectually alive. As the result of considerable thought and reading they have outgrown orthodox economic theories. They know a few of the old stock criticisms against religion but have not gone far enough to know that any church has adjusted itself to the changed thought of the last fifty years. As a church we do need the message that labor and socialism have for us. I know, both from mingling with them and having them in the congregation, that they are in equal need of our message. My experience with this group of people is that they recognize our own, as one of the few churches that have a modern message for them. I believe we have a great work in the present unrest in ministering to this group. Anything that takes us away from our special line of activity is not only a loss to our own Unitarian people but a loss to these present reform movements. Only within a week men, who have joined with the forces striving for a new economic order, have told me how they missed there the unselfishness, the generous idealism, the high qualities, which they expected to find. For these men our church is meeting an urgent need and they acknowledge our contribution to their life. Anything that sidetracks our regular work of establishing a lasting center of influence, is a distinct loss to this group.

I think it would come as a shock to us sometimes, and certainly some would offer evidence in rebuttal, that the business of a Unitarian church is to make Unitarians, just as the business of a land office is to sell land.

From the standpoint of keeping the church a visible going concern, we encounter enough difficulties which are the penalties of our virtues. In the first place the highest conditions of life are most unstable. Those who have movement and freedom in religion have it in all fields. We

movement and freedom in religion have it in all fields. We reap the perils of our theory that each man must stand alone, a free moving little piece of creative independence, like God himself. He acquaints himself first hand with deity and fears no hell but his own making. Church membership and attendance are not sacraments but matters of choice and taste. The very type of man which we exist to perfect, once perfected, is not the best material for a closely knit organization. He does not stay put like the more stupid man who comes and goes as his church may direct. What is true of the pew is true of the pulpit. A large percent of our men go out to other fields of useful work because of their native ability and therefore we have difficulty in keeping our organizations properly manned. Given then, a life-giving proposition, (long proved by its "workings," brought up to the present hour by the addition of all that knowledge and human experience can give), what is to be done with it?

A center of influence does not influence until it gets contact. The present world of affairs has perfected the machinery of getting new points of contact and the movement in the present business world is efficiency in getting the product home. Even those with a superior wine cannot be indifferent to the bottles.

In the common law of averages, a certain number in a city wish to buy land, a certain number can be convinced that they wish to buy land. A land company, through a central office, discovers, in every possible way, both of these groups and also a list of those who may be buyers in ten years. The proposition is presented, naming the points of advantage. The contact, once made, is followed up with literature and letters so arranged that the effect is cumulative and convincing. Every possible buyer is at fingers' ends in an office system that knows the progress of every possible buyer. The children of

repeated impressions. A man drops in to sell me accident insurance. I do not wish accident insurance. He leaves a blotter and says he will see me another time. He comes the next week, just passing through the building and leaves a blotter. I use his blotters. In the little recesses of day, I absorb the facts in the blotter, I learn how many out of every ten have an accident every year and the perilous condition of one without accident insurance. The man whom I disliked, perhaps, I come to like. I admire his persistence and method. If I wished to buy accident insurance, I would go out of my way to look him up. Is not this the principle of getting any proposition home and should not the life-giving proposition use the best machinery for getting it home? The church, whatever else it is, is a business center for handling our proposition in a place and getting it home.

A very necessary part of the work, not only of taking care of those who have come to know our message but also of holding it up before others, is a weekly gathering. Some works of art, once made, always keep this form. Others, like a musical composition, must be built anew each time. A church service is like the latter. It must be built anew each time. Building it is a fine art demanding the most careful work. Helps are a church-like church, music, all that builder, architect, decorator and accomplished performers can give. This work of art creates an atmosphere in which this life-giving proposition, if presented with force, is accorded a reception. A business man would envy the opportunity that we often treat indifferently, the opportunity to get to men under such favorable conditions.

This challenge of our pulpit both staggers and stimulates. Staggers because of its wealth of opportunity, stimulates because, while men formerly interpreted a book, here is the demand that we shall range the whole field of human thought, to the very

demand that we shall range the whole field of human thought, to the very limit of our power of endurance, for any and every contribution to the problems and destiny of life. One who can think of meeting a group of live men and women every seventh day and have time for side lines has a strange intellectual make-up, and certainly does not feel the possibilities and demands of his job.

Besides presenting the merits of our life-giving proposition, one becomes more and more conscious of the great inarticulate world which has absorbed some of the new science, the philosophy of the new social conscience and is not able to express it. This is especially true in our western work. What a large group expresses satisfaction at hearing their own hearts' language made articulate in the pulpit! Pleased both because they have thought so far and the pulpit will express so much. This is one of the satisfactions of pulpit work and a constant source of inspiration. "The lowest hind should not possess a hope, a fear, but I'd be by him, saying better than he knew, his own heart's language."

Our work is opportune. The story of our humanity has just come out. Our virtues and our vices are shown to be a part of the story, striking their roots, too, in a long past. The theological basis for morality has slipped away. New incentives and rewards must fill the place, shorn of myth and legend both for incentive and embellishment. The wavering habits of our life are shown to be the rivalry between the old habits of an animal ancestry and the new qualities of life, new and not yet fixed. Men, as we are told, are looking for the arrival of that new brother who can hold them steadily to a truth until they make it their own, until, by habit, they shall be chained to the new with the freedom of the good.

I live in the office and in the street where these old habits of the race control. I become convinced that idealism is just

I am a disciple of this school of the street and shape my philosophy accordingly. Then I find a group of people who are leading the other life and in their presence my idealism seems not only beautiful but rational and I feel a sense of shame that the world of affairs appealed to me so strongly. I hesitate between the two, ashamed of each in the presence of the other. But in time, the group with ideals comes to be the one for whose opinions I care, their rule of life the one to which I defer. If I must disappoint either group, I would fail rather toward the philosophy of the street. This group of people has become the criterion of my rule of conduct. Unconsciously, they save me from that which I know in their atmosphere, would seem unworthy to me and to them. This group of people, in a free church, does just this thing for a life that is wavering between the freedom of the primitive rules of life and the freedom of the new and unstable qualities of our humanity.

We have gone through many changes in thought, always following the gleam, with those in the pews in different stages of acceptance and rejection. This is the special merit of our position. Some one has noted that this is always a work of need and difficulty, to keep the mean between this oscillation of men's minds between a Sahara of dead routine and the jungle of wasteful extravagance, not forgetting that a true mean includes all that is good on both sides of it. We have reached the new inspiration, restored Jesus to his humanity, let fall the fatal premises of orthodoxy, shown deity in the new science and enthroned a new God, all this in a very short time. Each responded to the leading as he could. No one was rejected because he lingered with the old or too hastily took up with the new. Like the department store, in which Dr. Crothers bought his five cents worth of silk, we have given him his change without insisting that he spend

have given him his change without insisting that he spend his whole five dollars with us. With many different stages of thought, as each crisis in belief has arisen, we have kept the unity and the bond of peace. Fortified by the ruggedness of our spirit, those of our pews have gone out to diverse fields of good, each pursuing the thing and method which appealed to him. Neither in doctrine, philosophy or social theory have we ever demanded that one take all or nothing and take it now. Just as we let each take more or less of miracle, higher criticism, evolution and a score of things, as appealed to his judgment, which we respected, so, we are bound, by the principle of our position, to practice this in all fields. The suggestion in "In the Hands of a Receiver" is just one. Let him present his moral dollar, take a quarter's worth of Socialism, twelve and one-half cents' worth of old-time Republicanism, twelve and one-half cents' worth of Jeffersonian Democracy, a quarter's worth of insurgency and still have left twenty-five cents' worth of freedom.

The task then which is ours, after much specific work has gone over to other hands, is to maintain a going concern that shall use the best modern machinery, not only to diffuse a life-giving proposition but to make it in diffusion ever more intense, to draw from all fields of thought and experience for a live message to men; to maintain a group with an atmosphere of generous idealism, in the presence of which, the wavering will feel their good both worth while and beautiful and to keep a center of influence that shall prove to men in varied stages of thought, a perpetual inspiration in varied walks of life. Clearly a task sufficient for all the knowledge and endurance that the best can bring to the task. A high ideal to be sure but, "A man's reach should exceed his grasp or what's a heaven for?"

Martin F. Fereshetian

Radicalism

4 January 1920

BOLSHEVISM, SOVIETISM, and other radical organizations are based upon the highly individualized self. Absolute individualism in civilization is impossible and cannot exist. So said the Rev. M. Fereshetian before the First Unitarian church yesterday. As long as one is dependent on his fellow mortals and a social life the human must become a part of the community and cannot be an individual, he said. Through the work of the masses we find our civilization brought to its highest level.

"We are living at a time when men aspire to the individual, as well as the social self," he said. "Not knowing how to unify the two, many are placing the blame with an incompetent government and are looking for what they term needed reforms. By so doing they are increasing the spirit of restlessness. Again the question often arises in democracy: Are we free? Here also there can be no absolute freedom because of the dependence of the fellow being on his neighbor. The essential difference between civilization and barbarity is recognized, in the former each has a different trade or occupation, in the latter all have the same. As long as we are dependent on a physical world and the cooperation of human beings for an existence, the development of the highest self cannot be attained.

"Laws are made after public sentiment has crystallized; consequently the people are always ahead of the law. Many

people justify their actions by saying it is in accordance with the dictates of their conscience. Conscience is an undefined quantity and its quality depends upon the mental development of the individual. The Turk has a conscience, but has not been educated in humanity, and, consequently, his conscience finds nothing wrong in the severe outrages he commits against the Armenians. Bolshevism appeals to the ignorant mind and is pleasing. The radical teaches the development of the highly individual self without any social responsibility and [this] is impossible, as even here there must be some government. True freedom can only come from a conception of law and order and such a moral development of the individual as will recognize moral law and purpose in the universe. The worth of a government is learned by contrast with that of other nations. We should reconstruct ourselves to the ideals which make up the ideals of a country in which freedom is possible with the highest possible individualism, and yet still remain human. Such a government is the United States."

Frank L. Hunt

The Relation of Thought and Action

c. 1929-30

A SIGNIFICANT FACT in connection with the character and teaching of Jesus is that he transferred religious requirements from outward subscription to an inner condition. This change was resented by his fellow Jews, who had allowed their religious experience to crystallize into convention, whose thought had become stereotyped, and whose action had become formalized. There was a noticeable absence of fresh spiritual impulses directing life into finer relationships. If aspirational thoughts were entertained they never found their way into better modes of action.

Sensing the essential place of the inner life in human experience, Jesus saw the danger of conformity to externals and emphasized an attitude of love to God and Man, which compassed more true religion than the endless legal system the people were so zealous to obey. They were taught by Jesus that the thought is father to the deed. If avarice were not harbored, one would not steal. If anger were not present, murder would not be committed.

Jesus was more concerned as to the inside of the cup than the outside. He stressed the necessity of personal morality rather than a morality that clothed itself with respectability. It was to be expected of one who had the religious welfare of the people close to his heart that he should fearlessly warn them of the danger of valuing outward observance above inner principle and conviction. He was fully aware of the

consequences when an inversion of values persisted to the point that action could be carried out irrespective of consistency of thought.

In matters of religion it is not the part of wisdom to obey any command regardless of the consequences of behavior. Thought-out behavior has more commendable virtue in it than any degree of blind faithfulness to the letter of the law. Ceremonial and conventional conduct, while apparently right because of social sanction, may be most harmful to the individual. It tends to subordinate personality and ignores the inescapable fact that intelligent thought precedes intelligent action. Good behavior, which is the ultimate test of any practical religion, is the natural consequence of intelligent thought. Therefore, good and socially useful behavior is the expected result of the deliberative and purposeful thought of the followers of enlightened religion.

Except in instances where unconditional reflexes are the cause of action, the normal state of intelligent beings demands that thought precede action. The distinguishing mark between man and animal lies here. The higher the thought of a conditioned character that is brought to bear on a situation — for the sake of right conduct — registers the extent to which a person is removed from the animal plane.

Jesus affirmed, time and again, the ancient saying that out of the heart spring the issues of life; meaning by this an appreciation of the things that are lovely, true, and of good report; a sympathy of insight and understanding, a thoughtful and righteous purpose make conduct what is to be desired. From development within we are what we are. Things from without cannot be hung on character as works of art are hung on the walls of a living room to make it attractive. Labels and slogans cannot alter the character of one's conduct. To some types of mind denominational names may convey a

magical implication, but a name never transformed a socially dangerous individual into a sane and healthy-minded one. Only reflection, resolution and will can do this. A change of mind and heart is a prerequisite to a better mode of conduct.

Unitarian thought has ever emphasized the use of intelligence in religion. It maintains that the thinking mind is as necessary a part of the whole man as is controlled instincts and impulses — as essential as well-directed emotions. Religion is regarded as the response of the total self to the whole of the universe. From the beginning religious liberals have deliberately discouraged the tendency — so general among the orthodox — to suppress the power of reason in the interest of conformity. Liberals have been unafraid to turn the white light of reason upon religious problems, and are willing to follow that light as their best guide. It has never been brilliant to the point of blinding and confusing, and there appears to be little likelihood that it will ever be.

Another characteristic of Unitarian thought is that, while we do not hesitate to affirm with regard to many religious questions, affirmations are not permitted to pass into dogmatic conviction or to express finalities. Principles and ideas are preferred as guiding lights of religious thought rather than an accepted body of theological beliefs. Therefore, to ask what Unitarians believe is beside the mark. I cannot say, since each is entitled to his own opinions. The query does not interest me. What I am interested in is that every one of this free fellowship hold fast to an inquiring spirit and maintain an open attitude of mind which entitles him to be classified as a liberal. If this can be assured there is little probability of one being without beliefs that form character and motivate conduct. Whatever beliefs a liberal entertains

are subject to change; his judgment is modified when facts and experience warrant.

It is not uncommonly thought that religious beliefs are of little consequence; that what one thinks does not matter. This is a remark frequently made by the unthinking. If it is a reasoned remark, it is sophistry pure and simple. I should like to ask these well-meaning souls, whose benevolent aim seems to be to honey-coat religious issues, if it makes any difference to them what the physician thinks who is called to the bedside of a member of the family. It might give them confidence in his ability to relieve suffering and prescribe a cure if they satisfy themselves that he belongs to the best school of medicine, that his theories of disease are sound and that the therapeutic effect of his medicine is all that could be desired. If the information is obtainable, it must make a difference to me as to what my family physician thinks.

If you wished to employ an engineer to install a heating system in your residence, you would not go to a brick mason or a carpenter; you would want an experienced man who has specialized knowledge of what he is about, judgment as to the best system to meet your needs and ability to get results commensurate with the cost. These considerations will determine your decision.

Thought has everything to do with intelligent action. Beliefs have an inestimable influence over conduct. If these things are not true, it is quite futile for this Society to expend effort to maintain a School of Religious Education for the purpose of inculcating religious ideas in the minds of your children. But since they are true, we are instilling the best thought of the world in their impressionable minds to the end of influencing a type of conduct that will make for the enrichment of life. If what we believe does not matter, you might as well send your children to the most convenient

meeting house and never take the trouble to observe to what extent ideas and beliefs control their actions.

Charles W. Wendt says that he never observed a more striking illustration of the influence of the beliefs of a people on their life and conduct than in Switzerland. In the cantons he found similar conditions of race and government, of climate and material environment, but in their mental attitude toward nature and life they were so obviously different that they did not appear to be the same people. The difference was evident in the domestic, social, and political relations. The difference was patent in manners, morals, and outlook, which he averred were due to the diversity of creeds, conceptions of the universe, and sense of religious obligations.

Religious thought makes a difference between peoples. In the Orient there are types of religion requiring the suppression of some of the noblest impulses, and the effect is seen in an apathetic, hopeless attitude toward life. In the Occident there are types of religious belief that affirm life is good and altogether worth living, the result of which is an optimistic outlook and a radiant desire to realize the highest possibilities. The followers of Mohammed cause disorder and distress because they are possessed with a fanatical zeal for religious conquest. Contrast this practice with that of the Christian who scorns the use of the sword for the extension of the spirit of love. Compare the bigot, who believes his creed and his church offer the only way of salvation, with the charitable mind that holds to no special theological plan, but works for the salvation of all. In each of these cases thinking makes a decided difference as to the action carried out. As every man, the world over, "thinketh in his heart," that he tends to become in personal and social conduct.

thought is that it expresses a gregarious type of thinking, a mass opinion formulated into a system or a creed, which is wholly inadequate for free and independent spirits. Even those capable of religious thought are happy to delegate their thinking to those in authority — just as the unintelligent do — and the result is a dull conformity to rules and regulations which have nothing to do with human behavior. The behavior of the herd becomes the docile, uniform disposition of the people.

Systems of theology and unaltering creeds, wet with the dews of heavenly inspiration, were formulated to this holy end. But for those creeds and systems of theology to cause the people to act like automatons, religious persecution could not persist, and disgraceful heresy trials would not mar the growing good will of this more enlightened age. Creeds and systems preserve an outgrown past. They are anachronisms of the religious process, causing even the intelligent to divide their allegiance between the ideas of Athanasius, Augustine, and Calvin, and the reasonable, spiritual conceptions of the present day. The religious thought of primitives and of the ancients is even good enough for some scientists of this generation, who are content to worship at the tombs of creeds on Sunday, while on Monday they pursue with feverish research the data that will shed light upon the latest scientific theory.

While religion emphasizes the inner life, it demands that the inner life issue in outer expression. Mental acts are not complete without motor action. The Lord listens most attentively to those whose prayer is in their works. Those who continually cry, "Lord, Lord," without doing the will of God, in as far as they understand it, are farthest from the Kingdom of Heaven.

Psychologists assure us that all thought tends to express

itself in action. At the same time we are told that there is no impression without expression. At the outset a statement was made to the effect that intelligent action requires intelligent thought. Now we find that intelligent expression is contingent upon good impression.

Man is a unity. Mind is not an isolated part of the human structure. It functions with the total self. Acts cannot be segregated and made independent of the whole personality. Activity issues from our entire nervous and mental structure. It is the outcome of a cycle which begins with conscious states or impressions, followed by thoughts and emotions, and passes into volition or impulses to action. All three are aspects of mind terminating in action. Impression, then, is to be balanced by adequate expression if the self is properly coordinated.

No doubt all of us have at times been absorbed in an inspiring address; impressions came in rapid succession. However, we failed to fully benefit from them because what was accepted as truth was not translated into action. By failing to express the thought impression it does not fully become our own.

The religion of the deed reveals us. It is not possible to know one's inner thought unless it is outwardly manifested. As a tree is known by its fruits, so the character of a life is best known by its works, which obviate possibilities of misunderstanding. Religious idealists are not infrequently charged with a lack of practical application. Those who share this disability would perhaps profit by reading Carlyle rather than Byron. Thomas Carlyle preached a gospel of good works with a view to summoning impressionistic dreamers to the tasks of earth. He believed in aspirational thought, but out of respect for the religion of the deed he counseled the idealist to keep "the kindred points of heaven and home."

Intellectualizing is a poor substitute for action. It may be carried to a degree that paralyzes the will, leaving an intellectual void. Speculative habits unrelated to life situations and experiences cannot be transferred into action. This is why theology, calling for rationalization, is of little value in religious experience. This mistaken view is responsible for a great amount of teaching which is worthless, done in the name of religious education. Whereas, as Julian Huxley says, "action is able to help thought to a richer life as much as thought is able to guide action to better ends."

The orthodox have great faith in the efficacy of scriptural verses. They may not understand them, but feel that constant repetition will in time enable them to penetrate their obscurity. They insist upon their children memorizing passages without end in the hope that such passages may serve as a talisman, or beget good conduct. One might as well hope to become industrious by thinking of industry.

We repeat, the end of thought is the complete expression of the self — which is action. Activity provides an outlet for right thought and feeling. To enable these to come to their highest and full fruition action is necessary. This is called by psychologists the "voluntaristic trend." Its correlative is that we learn by doing, for doing increases the power to think aright and to perceive rightly.

What an anomaly it is, aside from the moral consideration, for one to think a thing and then act in such manner as to contradict that thought. Yet this is being done week in and week out by churchmen who no longer are able to subscribe to the religious opinions expressed in their churches. To accept a principle of religious thought and deny that principle in practice is just as common. Both practices deny the unity of the self, and make impossible a normal, happy personality.

Unitarian thought enables a person to be free and inde-

pendent in his religious convictions; consequently there is no occasion to confess one thing with the lips and deny it in the heart. Our thought develops character and produces desirable conduct as the flower and fruit of religious experience. That is why pride is taken in the character and achievement of our fellows in the faith. There is no question but that the type of religion they profess has had much to do in determining their useful and eminent lives.

Unitarian thought accepts the inner and outer as indissoluble parts of a complete experience. They are the convex and concave sides of the same curve. Thus we believe religious thought is good only in so far as it has its counterpart expressed in good character and ethical conduct.

Jacob Trapp

The Winning of Our Birthright: Unitarian Beginnings in Europe

23 February 1941

MY SUBJECT TODAY is our Unitarian birthright of freedom and how it was won. Unitarianism arose in the time of the European Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. "Renaissance" means rebirth. In the time so-named came a rebirth of art, science, philosophy, and literature — a rebirth of humane, this-worldly, practical, and intellectual pursuits. The most significant rebirth, however, was the rebirth of the spirit of human freedom.

Consider how things stood near the end of what we sometimes call the Dark Ages. There was no political freedom; the Holy Roman Empire, the divine and absolute rights of spiritual and temporal rulership, held complete sway. There was very little economic freedom; the dynamics of the industrial revolution and of a new world commerce was still to come. There was no freedom of publishing; even after the Dark Ages and after the discovery of printing, only that which was licensed and approved could see the light of day. There was no freedom of thought — thought wore the shackles of medieval scholasticism, a curious blend, stiffened to utter rigidity, of dogmatic Christian theology and Aristotelian logic and abstract science. There was no freedom of religion: one believed or professed to believe only according to the one ecclesiastical dictation.

It is not my purpose to review the stirring and thrilling

rebirth of the spirit of man which we call the Renaissance. It was dawn over Europe. It was a magnificent bursting of bonds on the part of the spirit of man, which it seems impossible permanently to shackle. It is my purpose rather to review briefly the winning of our birthright of religious freedom, in the tradition which comes down directly to us, and then to pause for an estimate of its significance.

We are familiar with the explanation that the name "Unitarian" was given to those who were non-trinitarians or anti-trinitarians. But why were they not called Arians, which was the theological term generally used and familiar for centuries past to designate those who, according to our modern view, wished to take paganism out of Christianity by rejecting the myth of Jesus as a virgin-born savior supernaturally conceived by the God of this entire universe? To this question Charles Graves, in his pamphlet, "A History of Unitarianism," which is a reprint from his article for the *Encyclopedia Americana*, suggests an interesting and possible answer. According to Peter Bod, a Transylvanian historian, and a bitter opponent, by the way, of Arian doctrines, the Diet of Torda in Transylvania passed an edict in 1557 granting universal freedom of worship. When this was ratified in 1563, the various religious bodies within the country formed a league of toleration pledging themselves not to persecute one another. The members of this league were popularly called "The United" or "Unitarians." Embracing as it did all kinds of Christian believers, the title carried at first no sort of theological significance whatever, but simply indicated a fraternal relationship. This league, or union of fraternity and tolerance, did not long endure. The trinitarians, who held that belief in the dogma of the Trinity was fundamental to Christian faith and not to believe it an almost unpardonable sin, could not long bind themselves in an agreement to

tolerate Arians, and hence very soon withdrew from the league. This emphasized the Trinitarianism of those who withdrew and the lack of it of those who remained. These latter were the Arians, or the non-trinitarians, called Unitarians, not because of this belief, but because they still remained members of the league of "The United" or "Unitarians."

While no confirmation of this is to be found in other sources than Peter Bod's history, it is probable that some such thing happened, else believers that "God is One" would have been much more likely to be termed Arian, after the current theological term "Arianism." The name Unitarian first appears in a decree of the Transylvania Diet in the year 1600. Thirty-eight years later (1638) the name was ratified by Transylvania Unitarians as the official designation of their churches, with perhaps a preference for it over the purely theological term Arian because of the meaning Unitarian had had as the name for a league of fraternity and tolerance. If this is true, the meaning which Unitarians of today prefer to give to the term — that of unity in diversity, of fraternity and tolerance, of a common purpose and pursuit amid diversity and freedom of thought and convictions — had its early non-theological origins.

The earliest organized movement of Arian Christians — that is, Christians who wished to preserve and further Judaeo-Christian morality and a simplified Christianity, without the superstructure of abstract and absolute dogma devised in a later time — occurred in Italy, where it was hounded out of existence or into exile by the Italian Inquisition.

The first successful and influential organization of an Arian Christianity took place in Poland in the latter part of the 16th century. The leader was an Italian, Faustus Socinus (Sozzini);

the group, which under his leadership became a numerous and powerful body, were known as Socinians. They were distinguished, an historian tells us, "by the rank of their adherents, the ability and learning of their scholars, the excellence of their schools, and the superiority and wide circulation of their theological literature."

Hendrik Van Loon, in his book *Tolerance*, tells of taking time off to go through the index of all the more popular textbooks out of which the youth of our country learn the story of the past. "Not a single one mentioned Socinianism or the Sozzinis." Finally he found one reference as a sort of footnote to something Luther or Calvin had said or done. He then makes the prediction that in the popular histories of 300 years hence the Socinians will have a chapter of their own, with the traditional heroes of the Reformation relegated to the footnotes. Why? Because the Socinians, says Van Loon, "were a stronghold of the most advanced and liberal thought of the age." Van Loon tells also of the Racovian Catechism, so called because [it was] published at the Socinian university and publishing center, Racow. This was the first Unitarian catechism, whose distribution and influence traveled far and wide, becoming the seed of early Unitarianism in England.

The latter half of the sixteenth century, says Van Loon, was an era of catechism, confessions of faith, credos, and creeds. People were writing them in Germany and in Switzerland and in France and in Holland and in Denmark. But everywhere these carelessly printed little booklets gave expression to the ghastly belief that they (and they only) contained the real Truth with a great big capital T and that it was the duty of all authorities who had solemnly pledged themselves to uphold this one particular form of Truth with a great big capital T to punish with the sword and the gallows and the stake those who willfully remained faithful to a different sort of truth. The Socinian confession of faith breathed an entirely different spirit. It began by the flat statement that it was not the

intention of those who had signed this document to quarrel with anybody else.

"With good reason," it continued, "many pious people complain that the various confessions and catechisms which have hitherto been published and which the different churches are now publishing are apples of discord among the Christians because they all try to impose certain principles upon people's conscience and to consider those who disagree with them as heretics."

Thereupon it denied in the most formal way that it was the intention of the Socinians to proscribe or oppress any one else on account of his religious convictions, and turning to humanity in general, it made the following appeal:

"Let each one be free to judge of his own religion, for this is the rule set forth by the New Testament and by the example of the earliest church. Who are we, miserable people, that we should smother and extinguish in others the fire of divine spirit which God has kindled in them? Have any of us a monopoly of the knowledge of the Holy Scriptures? Why do we not remember that our only master is Jesus Christ and that we are all brothers and that to no one has been given power over the souls of others? It may be that one of our brothers is more learned than the others, yet in regard to liberty and the relationship with Christ we are all equal."

That was a noble utterance, and Van Loon puts it mildly when he goes on to speak of it as 300 years ahead of its times. Unity amid diversity, democracy in religion (in regard to liberty and the relationship with Christ we are all equal), a unity of spirit in the seeking and practicing of good rather than a formal and imposed unity of dogma and creed, were Unitarian principles from the period of its inception.

Socinianism, or Unitarianism, became a strong and influential movement in Poland. There came a time, it is said, when there was not a single nobleman in Poland who was not either himself a Unitarian or related to one. But then Poland became ravaged by wars, as from time immemorial that unhappy country has been. The Catholics began a counter-reformation, turning loose veritable hordes of Jesuit father[s] upon their lost provinces, and gaining support from

orthodox Protestants against the Socinian heretics. The culmination of all this was a decree, in 1658, based on an old anti-heresy law of 1424, that all adherents of this heretical movement must "quit the kingdom within two years." Some of the exiled Socinians managed to escape unharassed. Some escaped robber bands that deprived them of all their worldly goods, including, in some instances, the clothing they wore, so that they crept back into the Church for a rag to cover themselves with. The escaped Socinians found hospitable welcome among more liberal German Protestants or among the Mennonites of Holland. Some of them found their way to Transylvania, where a Unitarian movement had already for half a century borne that name.

The great hero of Transylvania Unitarianism was Francis David. Like Socinus he was a brilliant controversialist. A favorite Unitarian painting depicts Francis David making an eloquent plea for religious toleration at a Diet at Torda in 1568, just 90 years prior to the expulsion of Unitarians from Poland. The result of this plea was the first law of its kind in Christian Europe, Transylvania's Magna Charta of religion, a decree which read in part: "Preachers shall be allowed to preach the gospel everywhere, each according to his own understanding of it. If the community wish to accept such preaching, well and good; if not, they shall not be compelled, but shall be allowed to keep the preachers they prefer. No one shall be made to suffer on account of his religion, since faith is the gift of God." In the generation in which this law was passed, the Inquisition was doing its worst in Spain and Italy, Alva was putting Protestants to death by the thousands in the Netherlands, the massacre of St. Bartholomew with its 20,000 or 30,000 victims took place in France, while certain leaders in denying the dogma of the Trinity were still to be

burned at the stake in England during the next forty years. A Catholic king succeeded the Unitarian king in Transylvania, a Catholic reaction set in and a terrific wave of persecution, which secured the death of Francis David in a dungeon but did not manage to destroy his movement, which has withstood wave after wave of persecution to this day, to survive as a strongly devoted and simple Arian Christianity in its mountain strongholds in Hungary.

The first Englishman to gather and preach to a Unitarian congregation and to publish Unitarian books — among them a translation of the life of Socinus and two Socinian tracts — was John Bidle, deservedly called the father of English Unitarians. He was born in 1615, more than a half century after Socinus, a full century later than Servetus, the first great Unitarian martyr, and Francis David. John Bidle died at the age of 47, having spent most of his adult life in jail, having had the experience of a Parliamentary order to burn his books, a Parliamentary death sentence averted by the dissolution of that body, and a final illness brought on by the vileness of the dungeon into which he was thrown.

The history of religious toleration is a very recent one. James I of England (who succeeded Queen Elizabeth) said of the Puritans, "I'll make them conform or I'll harry them out of the land." Under his successor, Charles I, thousands of Protestants fled to America. The Puritans under Cromwell were also intolerant, as Milton's endeavors for freedom amply attest. From 1551 to 1612 no less than nine persons suffered martyrdom in England for professing Unitarianism. In 1614 a Latin version of the Racovian catechism was publicly burned in London. In 1648 a London ordinance made denial of the Trinity a capital offense, an ordinance made inoperative by Oliver Cromwell. In 1689 the famous Act of Toleration made

dissent possible except on the part of Papists and deniers of the Trinity.

Despite persecution, in part perhaps because of it, the new liberalism was growing. Milton, in that same century, taught Arian Christianity not only very explicitly in his "Christian Doctrine" but also for those who had eyes to see and ears to hear in his great epical poem "Paradise Lost." He had fought, moreover, the kind of battle Unitarians were interested in fighting, because it was the very breath of life to them. First of all for Religious Liberty: "To be still searching what we know not by what we know, still closing up truth to truth as we find it. . . . This is the golden rule in theology as well as in arithmetic, and makes up the best harmony in a Church; not the forced and outward union of cold, and neutral, and inwardly divided minds" [Areopagitica].

Secondly for Intellectual Liberty: "Let Truth and falsehood grapple. Though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength" [Areopagitica].

Third, for Freedom of Speech and the Press: "He who kills a man kills a reasonable creature, but he who destroys a good book kills reason itself." Sometimes ages do not suffice to recover the loss of a rejected truth, and the kind of massacre involved in suppression or rejection of that seasoned life of man preserved in great books, "strikes at that ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself, and slays an immortality rather than a life" [Areopagitica].

A fourth — a liberty without which the others are unreal and valueless — freedom of inquiry, freedom for intellectual progress: "Truth is a streaming fountain; if her waters flow not in a perpetual progression, they sicken into a muddy pool

of conformity and tradition" [Areopagitica]. That was Milton in the 17th century.

John Locke, in his writings on Toleration and in his "Reasonableness of Christianity" ranged himself on the same side, as did the famous scientist Isaac Newton in writings which he chose to publish anonymously. It wasn't safe, as yet, even for the famous and illustrious of those times, to be known as Unitarians. Organized beginnings in England date from about 1773, when Theophilus Lindsey, on the failure of the petition for relieving clergymen "from the burden of subscribing to the thirty-nine articles," resigned his "living in Yorkshire and gathered the first professedly Unitarian church in London." It was about that same time that Dr. Joseph Priestley, scientist, clergyman, forever famous as the discoverer of oxygen, was driven from his home — his parsonage, his laboratory, and the homes of scores of his parishioners having been burned to the ground by mobs. Dr. Priestley elected to go to America, where he founded two Unitarian churches, at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in 1794 and at Philadelphia in 1796. Near the end of the 18th century Unitarianism became a definitely organized force in the religious life of England, many Presbyterian congregations, whose chapel trust deeds allowed freedom of theological opinion, having followed their ministers in joining the Unitarian movement inaugurated by Dr. Lindsey. In 1844, nearly halfway into the enlightened 19th century, all civil disabilities which Unitarians had suffered in England were removed. It was from England that Unitarian thought and influence came to America.

Unitarians have never had a creed, in the sense of an official theology. They have never sought to compel human belief to this or that doctrine. Their views have changed from generation to generation, through growing thought, and as

science and scholarship brought new worlds of knowledge into being. But their views, and any statements they have issued about them, have never been in any sense considered final or authoritative. Unitarians, being the only logical Protestant body in existence, recognize no one's right to require any person to bind himself for all time to some particular form of worship or dogma, no matter how true at the time they may seem to be. Unitarians are not bound by the Christian tradition, especially not by the Christian creed-makers, although free to appreciate and revere all that is great and fine in our Christian heritage. Unitarians feel that creeds and sacraments, where the principle of change and growth and utmost freedom of inquiry are not admitted, will necessarily make it impossible, before long, to press on to a larger and finer life, and to cope with the problems of a changing world. The last word in religious truth has not been uttered. No divinely instituted oracle to religious truth, of yesterday or today, exists except in the growing thoughts and aspirations of men. The goal of spiritual endeavor is far ahead. Unitarians have consistently, however individuals among us may have erred in this regard, refused to have anything to do with finalities and infallibilities in religion.

We do not, therefore, believe as our fathers believed. But we do, and that's why there is a glorious thrill in the story of our heritage, share their faith: the faith that men can progress, and must be set free to progress; that men can learn and must be set free to learn; that character is the test of the religious life and not conformity to creed; that the divinity of man's upward-seeking life cannot be a regimented thing, or stop with the conclusions of those who had so imperfect an understanding of the world as did the makers of Christian creeds, but must be a growing, expanding, responsibly thinking, responsibly endeavoring and ever learning and

advancing spiritual force in the world. We share their faith, rooted, as was democracy, in the finest heritage of Judaeo-Christian morality and in the Greek and Renaissance ideal of the universal man, who cultivated his powers to the utmost under the guiding control of reason. And we revere the heroism of those illustrious men, and those unknown courageous soldiers of life, who won for us our birthright of freedom.

Though we cannot look back upon them as having once for all won the battle, we can look to them for counsel, courage, and inspiration. We can be stronger because they were strong. Would we enjoy the freedom we enjoy today had it not been for them? Would we struggle, as they struggled, to gain or to regain that freedom? Do we justify what they won for us in terms of our character, our growth, our service? Would not a tenth of their courage, and a tithe of their devotion, accomplish ten times more in our time than we accomplish? Can we be hopeless in our time about the issue of freedom when we look back upon the odds against which they took up spiritual arms through generations of struggle? When we become discouraged, let us remember them. When the burden of working for the liberal cause, and giving for the liberal cause, seems so heavy that we may have to give up one little luxury for it, let's remember those who gave their lives. It seemed crucially important to them. It still is, although now its frontiers of opportunity are wide beyond their imagining.

Dr. [Ernest] Caldecott said to me last week, during the course of a conversation, that if he were totalitarian dictator of the United States the first group he would put on the blacklist would be the Unitarian ministers. That might be a very intelligent decision in an attempt to regiment our people as speedily and completely as possible. But we are not under

a totalitarian dictatorship and our chances to guard the freedoms we have, and to do with the freedoms we have, are as a thousand to one compared to those of a not remote yesterday.

Hence I love to recount that story of the winning of our birthright — a story that ought to make better present-day Unitarian ministers and better present-day Unitarian laymen, giving us the pride and the thrill of the greatness of our ancestry, the fuller consciousness of the grandeur of our opportunity, and the inescapable challenge: are we building a Prodigal Son culture and maintaining a Prodigal Son church, or are we worthy to be named sons and daughters of those who *earned* our birthright?

J. Raymond Cope

What is Unitarianism?

4 October 1942

THE UNITARIAN CHURCH is unique among religious groups. It claims no source of insight which is not part of the common heritage of the Poet, the Scientist, and the Philosopher. Its objectives are precisely those of the ordinary man who is attempting to use all the human faculties at his command to realize a well-ordered life for himself and the beloved Community; its interests are in all things of this world which affect the course of human destiny. In the place of an authoritative creed, it holds to the authority of a disciplined mind, the method of scientific inquiry, the test of experience, and the claims of ideals which have been forged by man in his search for his better self. More than this we cannot claim; we see no justification in founding a Faith upon anything which goes beyond the limits of human experience and the natural powers native to the human mind.

A list of Unitarian leaders of other days reads like a roster of the leaders in American culture; hardly a humanitarian or progressive movement has found expression in America but has drawn heavily upon Unitarian laymen and clergy for leadership. Nor is this surprising. The philosophy on which the Unitarian church is founded, clearly understood, is in accord with any movement which releases man from his limitations, removes obstacles to human progress, or which contributes to the dignity of human life. The world of tomorrow will discover that the attitudes of mind and quality

of life which were integral to the solution of today's perplexities found warm reception among the members of the liberal church. And, be it remembered, short of reformatting attitudes there will be no solution of these very perplexities. The finest creed ever agreed upon by church council, however authentic its insight into the world to come, falsifies its claims to adequacy if it does not inspire the use of intelligence in dealing with commonplace problems which have been neglected shamefully.

It is one of the painful paradoxes of our day that democracy was tied to an orthodox religious philosophy which still concerned itself with problems of medieval theology and psychology. Orthodoxy seemed unaware that the principles of science (the best statement man could make concerning the nature of the world), the principles of psychology (man's best statement as to the nature of life, mind, soul, and behavior), and the principles of logic (the rules to which any intellectual endeavor must conform) had any field of application. Orthodoxy seemed to assume that some capacity, unheard of outside the church, enabled them to go directly to the secrets of the universe and dispense with these principles whenever difficulty arose. Don't we all wish such capacities and insights were to be relied upon? But it becomes increasingly clear that a religious doctrine which is at odds with what is taught in the field of science can have but little to offer worthy of consideration in the field of morals, religion, and this-worldly principles. If there were secret insights into the nature of the world and man, no scientist would be satisfied short of probing it to the foundations!

No, the fact stands that Orthodoxy has failed, and does not possess the insight or methodology to lead us in our search for sure foundations. The chaos in which we find ourselves

today is the result of trying to build a Liberal Democracy upon an antiquated psychology, logic, and ethic. Economic and political arrangements alone will not suffice to provide a satisfactory peace after the war; some deeper questions are to be raised, and far from returning to some Orthodox tradition the clearest thinking of scientist, poet, and philosopher must be taken into account in forming a new "way of life."

Edwin H. Wilson

The Unitarian Position and Purpose

1945

The Unitarian Position

THE CENTRAL TENET in the Unitarian position is the Free Mind principle. We are a church uniquely related to freedom; a church open-minded toward what at any time is modern; a church sympathetic toward science; a church which puts its stress on service rather than on dogma; and a church which is in a strategic position to develop a world-uniting faith at a time when humanity needs a way to transcend, through the unity of ethical action, the differences of its creeds. At all times in their denominational history, Unitarians have been stimulated by two needs. On the one hand, there has been their desire for a freedom that permits growth. On the other hand, there has been the wish to affirm their faith in a positive manner. Out of the tension between the two, Unitarianism has achieved its progress. The covenants which different Unitarian congregations have used as their bond of union express the position of local Unitarian churches at given times in their history. Usually the records of each church show recurrent efforts over the years to sum up its views. And almost always, complete freedom of mind and conscience has been affirmed. This Free Mind principle assures us that in every decade new statements of the Unitarian position will be made, and that no formulation is final, dogmatic, or binding on the individual conscience.

actually worked in Unitarian history, we perceive its fruitfulness as a way of religious association. Certain Christians, largely in the New England Congregational churches, found themselves increasingly dissatisfied with their inherited Calvinism. The doctrine of a God who, because men and women lacked the right faith, would send them to hell, regardless of the life they lived, the miracles and myths of the Old and New Testaments, the gloomy otherworldliness, the beliefs in original sin and infant damnation of Calvinism shocked both reason and moral conscience. Ministers began to preach more liberal doctrine. New influences in the latter part of the 18th century were penetrating the Christian consciousness. Out of the continental "Enlightenment" came a Rationalism that made Reason supreme. Democratic faith in the common man revived in Christendom a spirit akin to the concern of Jesus for the abundant life for human beings in the here and now. Science was prospering and was in time to achieve a vast prestige before which the old world view was to yield among thoughtful people to a new vision. What orthodoxy encountered in this trend was the pioneer temperament, the democratic faith, and the scientific spirit.

William Ellery Channing in a famous sermon delivered in Baltimore in 1819, crystallized these trends. The conservative minorities in many congregations departed, leaving the liberals fortunately situated with some of the finest old churches. Bearing in mind Channing's warning that they should "shun sectarianism as they would shun hell" [sermon "Spiritual Freedom" preached on 26 May 1830], our churches to this day are not a sect as are churches which insist on the dogmatic beliefs of outworn creeds. We do not impose the dead thoughts of the past upon our members. We hold that all creeds, as statements of required faith by which people are included or excluded from a church are

wrong. Inevitably a creed will become an obstacle to intellectual progress, while if private interpretation of a creed is permitted, as in the case of some modernist churches, insincerity is encouraged. Creeds can cause churches to drift more and more out of the stream of life.

The early endeavor of Unitarianism was to get back to what the life of Jesus had actually taught, and to remove the superimposed legends from his teaching. These early Unitarians rejected the miracles as out of accord with the known facts of life. Instead of regarding the Bible as an infallible source, they held it to be a man-made document, bearing the marks of many editings. They found the Virgin Birth incredible, as well as duplicated in other religions. They declared that Jesus was a man born like other men. This process of criticism was not a negative process. Rather, it was similar to that which takes place when weeds are removed to permit useful plants to thrive. What was less than the best and what was unreasonable or out of accord with the tested knowledge of science was rejected. But what was retained grew to greater importance in Unitarian lives. "Holding fast to what is good" [cf. 1 Thessalonians 5:21] meant to accept the moral influence of Jesus, to seek the truth as he sought it, to love men as he had loved them, "even unto the least of them" [Matthew 25:40]. Under his teaching that the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath Jesus set the pattern of a humanism that makes any custom or belief holy by its helpfulness in developing character. Jesus taught that the motives from which a man's actions spring are the measure of his moral worth, and from him Unitarians learned the value of character as the goal of life.

This positive sifting of enduring values from the Bible was projected back into the Old Testament. All that was ethically

inferior to the example of the best men of all times was rejected as outgrown; all that was out of accord with the advancing science of their day was left behind as the undeveloped world view of pre-scientific times. In the course of its history Unitarianism found evolution a more reasonable statement of creation than the first chapter of Genesis; Unitarians were the first to accept Darwinism and its later developments. But an exalted social idealism was found in the record of the Old Testament prophets, and this spirit of idealism has been fostered. Micah had said "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love kindness and to walk humbly with thy God" (Micah 6:8). In time "the Lord" became largely synonymous with Natural Law. But the relationship between the laws of nature and human ethics — between "the starry vault above and the moral law within" — remains in Unitarian thinking today. The principles of justice, peace, and righteousness, the necessity of world brotherhood, are held not to be mere chance. There is a reason in the nature of things why the indifference towards truth and the cruelty of the world's Hitlers are wrong; and why democratic concern for the common man and for world cooperation is right. The Hebrews had said righteousness and truth "spring out of the earth" (Psalms 85:11). Natural necessity is manifest in the need of man to find the truth and to live with his fellow man; it is projected in his idealism as the way that man must live, if he is to fulfill his highest possibilities. Unitarians also have retained the beauty that is found in the scriptural passages expressing this relatedness of man to his source and to his goal of brotherhood on earth. Although controversy has sharpened our critical sense and made us desire new modes of worship in addition to the old, we have not cut ourselves off from the superb poetry that the Bible contains.

So our application of the Free Mind principle has been a positive one. Fred G. Bratton, in *The Legacy of the Liberal Spirit*, shows that wherever in past centuries men have gone as seekers of the truth directly to the Scriptures, they have emerged with freshly energizing ideals. They have found in Jesus a man who illustrates in many ways humankind at its best. Because he was human, we can hope to imitate him. What has resulted in modern Unitarianism from this search has been fruitful for better human living.

Once the ideas of biblical infallibility and human depravity were rejected, men no longer believed that they are helpless, that they should not think for themselves, that this life need be a vale of tears, or that moral effort is useless. So we have turned from concern with another world to the quest for the life abundant in the world that now is. It is apparently no accident that in the Hall of Fame and in "Who's Who" the proportionate number of Unitarians is above that of other religious groupings. The free faith seems both to attract and to produce men and women of achievement and public spirit.

Unitarians have sought and found truth and moral example from other than biblical sources. It was seen that where the ethics of the Bible were true, they were true, not because the Bible asserted the fact, but because they were true in human experience. This has provided tools for sifting both the scriptures, and the experience of other times and places, for religious truth. Channing declared this from the beginning. Emerson opened new doors to truth including the Orient. Unitarians have always sought emancipating truth wherever it has appeared. For them "revelation is not sealed." More than a century of responsible thought has, therefore, meant progressive enrichment and increasingly sound foundations. Who builds on science and on love to mankind need not fear new revelations. Unitarians accepted the higher criticism of

the Bible. They studied the world religions. They incorporated in their thinking new discoveries of science. They were the only religious organization to champion the cause of evolution at the Scopes trials in Dayton, Tennessee.

Unitarians have pondered the ideas of God and the problem of death and on these ultimates they give the widest freedom of belief. Generally speaking, from the time of Ralph Waldo Emerson on, God has been held among them to be the creativity of nature. "Some call it evolution and others call it God." Our fellowship has been hospitable to the reverent agnostic. For Unitarians God became a larger thought, joining natural law and moral law in one emergence; the "life that maketh all things new," at work in the soul and idealism of men. There has also been the greatest freedom and the least dogmatism concerning life after death. Beliefs concerning death are for us an individual matter. Yet when we ask what the free mind has done with this problem, we are reassured of the value of religious freedom. For the chief thing we have done is dispel the fear of death. Charles W. Eliot once said, "Unitarians die well!" We deny to none the right to hope for more when this life is over. Many among us believe it not to be just or sensible that when a man's mind is most developed, his spirit most mature, he should be snuffed out. Others take comfort in the thought of rest and would be disconcerted to face an everlasting existence elsewhere.

Whatever they believe concerning death, Unitarians generally hold to a belief in cultural immortality. They know that those who live a life of disinterested service live for what will outlast them. The things to which they devote their days are like the best part of themselves and will not follow them into the grave. Unitarians are content to live one life at a time, to pitch this life high, holding that, come what may,

the best preparation for the end is to live this life as worthily as possible. Thus we can see that the Free Mind principle has produced a confident method with which to face death.

Retaining what they held permanent in the scriptures, Unitarians have claimed to be "Unitarian Christians." But Theodore Parker, and the Free Religious Association formed in his spirit to uphold religious liberty and promote cooperation with other liberal faiths — Christian and non-Christian — posed the question of whether Christianity is the last word in religion. The very logic of our position points to the emergence of a world-uniting religion which, catching up unto itself what is universally true and enduringly right in Christianity and Judaism, also draws wisdom from other sources. Such a universal faith would be available to all free minds. There is no barrier to keep those who depart from the Jewish orthodoxies from membership. Many also have gravitated to our position from Christian orthodoxy. We are more Christian than anything else, but in no exclusive sense. We would welcome ex-Mohammedans or ex-Buddhists. Truth and love are valid in all places and times and cannot be labeled as the exclusive property of any sect. So the free mind continues to carry us forward toward universal religion.

Wendell Willkie stated in our denominational paper, *The Christian Register* (June 1943) that "Men and women all over the world are on the march — physically, intellectually, spiritually." This condition is our opportunity. "Holding fast to that which is good" in our western world, we should now seek a greater sympathy with and understanding of the Orient and Russia. We should now use the Free Mind principle to show how in their diversity all men can find, in the will to a world of peace and justice, a unity of moral principle. If we have the courage and the intellectual force, we can use our freedom to serve this end. In this, as in the

past, the breadth of the Free Mind principle can open doors to fresh inspiration and wider opportunities of service. It lifts us from the dead level of conformity to a wealth of viewpoints, to individual resourcefulness and to skill in thinking and working together in freedom. Our position is thus affirmative, dynamic, outward-reaching, suited to the needs of free men, living in a democratic world.

The Unitarian Purpose

The Unitarian purpose is to help men and women experience life richly and to use the richness of their lives for the common good. Traditionally we have called that quest "Salvation by Character." All value accruing from the work of a liberal church is realized in persons and through them in an improved humanity. We can sum up the goal of our church in the words "More life, for your neighbor as for yourself." To this end we conduct our services, maintain a free pulpit, seek the truth, provide religious education, promote fellowship among our members and endeavor to apply our religion practically in public service. No one of these activities can be thought of apart from each of the others; all point inwardly to the growth of personality, and outwardly toward the realization of a just and brotherly world.

We maintain a free pulpit where the minister can speak his mind in sincerity and forthrightness, and we grant freedom of judgment to those in the pews. This is our way of "unity in diversity." We hold that the authoritarian spirit stifles the potential that is in every human being for more satisfying and useful living. It is, therefore, our purpose to uphold religious freedom wherever it is challenged. Religious liberty is important because it gives us the chance to think and live as free men. It is our purpose, for the sake

of more abundant living, to seek the truth. Our duty is to use freedom responsibly and positively. "More and better thinking" is our goal. It is our purpose, not to accept the past without question, but to seek an unfolding faith in man and life, one that grows from more to more.

As a religious fellowship, seeking truth for life's sake, our thinking must be of a particular kind. Analysis alone cannot produce a centered life. Religion is the inclusive experience, catching up all other experiences into an awareness of the continuity and wholeness of the one life of which we are a part. To find religious wisdom, we have to blend the scientific spirit, prophetic vision, ethical sympathy, and poetic imagination.

Albert Einstein in a notable passage points to the sense of mystery that pervades an enlightened religious experience. It is an experience that is not the crude awe of the ignorant savage, but the wonder of an informed mind, "wide open on the God-ward side"; a mind which has thought its way on and through the factual world and has arrived at the outer boundaries of knowledge. Einstein said, "The most beautiful thing we can experience is the mysterious. It is the source of all true art and all true science. He to whom this emotion is a stranger is as good as dead. His eyes are closed. . . . This knowledge, this feeling is at the center of true religiousness."

As seekers of the truth it is our purpose to stimulate each individual to achieve — in perfect freedom of mind and conscience — this quality. Here is an experience deeper than the names we may choose to call it; one which need not be jeopardized by naming or not naming God. "Wisdom is the principal thing" (Proverbs 4:6).

been called "worship." Many independent thinkers are troubled by this word — worship. Worship is associated in some minds with repetitious, self-seeking prayers addressed to an arbitrary power who is believed to like flattery and to be able to set aside natural law in order to grant special favors. Surely it is obvious to all that in Unitarian Churches such magic has been left behind. Our view of the universe neither permits us to, nor makes us wish to, make rain, stop bullets, or meet budgets with prayer.

Worship among us may well be interpreted as the drawing to ourselves of all things that are admirable, all things that ennoble, all things that guide one to the good life. The thought of nature's grandeur, the sacrifice of men who gave their lives for freedom, the sympathetic figure of Jesus and others who exemplify the law of kindness, the disinterestedness of men of science, the ideals to which men have again and again turned as the opposite of cruelty and greed and hatred, the faith of progress — all these sources of inspiration are focused in the successful act of liberal worship. Knowing that we, by taking thought of the best, can gain power for better living, we seek to lift our lives to higher ground in a weekly ascent from "the world of many, to the world of the one." We draw strength from awareness that our roots are in nature. In worship we find hope in the realization that the things worth living for will live on in the quest of other men.

Something of this experience is found in the best moments of each thoughtful person's solitude. But adventurous religious experience is not a wild flower. It needs cultivation at stated intervals or the humdrum of the daily world will crowd it out. One has to come to church regularly, come seeking inspiration, come with sympathy and earnestness and hope, to renew the visions of one's best hours. If we come

to church in a coldly analytical and critical mood, hardening ourselves against any emotional experience, we shall never capture religion.

At its best, worship is filled with the spirit of celebration. In a tragic world it is difficult to remain joyous. People with alert minds cannot accept the sugary optimism of a Pollyanna. The facts of disease and death are ever with us, and of human cruelty and war. Only a philosophic outlook which accepts the perverseness in men and is able to rise above the immediate events of the present, seeing life under what George Santayana has called "the aspect of the infinite," can know joy and inward peace. Sensitization to a beauty and order not of man's making or for man's o'erthrowing — an awareness which the poetic love of nature affords — can evoke that mood. A sense of history arising from knowledge of man's long ascent can sustain it. A few great souls who embody it in radiant completeness warm our souls. But in these days we are very far from a sure grasp upon any joyous faith. We are caught between old words that have grown hollow with uncritical repetition, and new words that are not yet mellowed with time. In a day of transition from an authoritarian supernaturalism to a natural religious experience, it should be our purpose to be frankly experimental in our worship. While endeavoring to hold fast to old patterns of worship that have enduring ethical and esthetic meaning in them, we should also create new modes of expression for the free and aspiring soul.

Our church seeks to promote character in youth through religious education. A time comes when liberal parents realize the need for such influences on their children as we offer and they bring their children to us. We desire to meet this challenge adequately. Our aim is not to inculcate — which means "grind in with the heel" — by catechetical

methods. We do not teach attitudes of fear nor instill beliefs without evidence. We know that fear and credulity may warp the spirit of a young child beyond recovery and keep him the slave of a creed. No child whose mind has been inescapably filled with dead doctrine concocted in ancient days ever can possess real freedom. Our purpose is rather to develop an appreciation of the best, a thirst for truth, a hunger for goodness, a love of the beautiful, an admiration for admirable people, and ethical discrimination.

Our whole aim is so to equip children that when the years of judgment come they may choose a way of life that is personally satisfying and socially useful. We desire early experiences of the church to be happy ones. We endeavor to expose our pupils to the example of inspiring teachers; to give them knowledge of the various faiths, the several Christs, the many Gods, the varied scriptures and ideals of the race; so that as they mature they will be equipped and free to determine their own duty and their own faith. A condition of success in this work is active participation of their parents in the life of the church. If one ever has any doubt concerning this method, let him look to the young people to be found in our churches. It is the usual thing to find them trustworthy, reverent, self-reliant, intelligent, and ambitious to serve. Such good fruit comes from a good tree!

It is our purpose also to provide fellowship for those of liberal outlook. "Fellowship is heaven and lack of fellowship is hell." But our religious society is not just a social club. Our position and purpose determine the level of our fellowship — it is the level of the ideal. The liberal church is not a place of sackcloth and ashes. It is more like a larger family, where children and adults together can laugh and play no less than seek the highest. We want the quest for the life abundant to be a joyous thing. Our church is a place where

sympathy should prevail. It is a place of sharing. Within our walls we seek to appreciate one another in terms of the best for which each stands. It is human values that count most. "The letter killeth but the spirit giveth life" [2 Corinthians 3:6]. So fellowship — the "unity of the spirit and the bonds of peace" — within a larger family at the hearth of humanity is part of our purpose.

Our church is a place where we unite in doing good. "Love is the spirit of the church and service is its law." Our church has a splendid record in public service. At all times, some of our members have been counted among civic leaders, diligent in good causes. Other members, many of them, serve in humble ways in various organizations. We have been active in support of adult education, of schools and libraries, of better city government. Our members have often stood for civil liberties and social justice when to do so has been unpopular. Our faith in man has demanded and received of us a tolerance that judges men by their merits rather than by their color, race, or creed. We find the work of the Unitarian Service Committee exciting, and are prompt to heed its call for help. Our women are busy at the work of the Red Cross and other social service. Our doors are open seven days a week to educational, religious, and cultural activities. Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Cubs meet regularly under our roof. Kindred faiths are welcomed. All of these things we say, that the example of our past may inspire us to meet the needs of each new year as they arise. The work of practical religion, lived seven days a week, is the best means of character-building.

Today there is much work for religious liberals to do. There is the work of war relief and the effort to keep in touch helpfully with our own service men and women, the protection of the public schools from the sectarian spirit, the

struggle against the fear, pessimism, and defeat that are being spread by reactionary sects in a time of uncertainty. There is the defense of science against its detractors, the raising of a higher standard in the midst of vulgarity, the protection of culture against a pervading materialism. Yes, we have important work to do to make the world safe for intelligence. All the legal machinery that our statesmen can provide will not work, if mankind does not believe in itself, or if men of varied creeds and nationality are without faith in one another and lack the will to cooperate. So we, who stand for the Free Mind principle, need to bring our way of unity in diversity to others. Small in numbers though we may be, our way of life is large in promise. We have a wider faith — a world-uniting faith — that will enable men to dwell together in peace, even though they cling to the specifics in their several faiths. The way to a united humanity is unity in ethical action. Together we can do what no one of us can do alone, if we abound in love. To these purposes, caught up in the one purpose of "more life, for our neighbors as for ourselves," let us devote our energies, "making ourselves great and strong by association" that we may together be effective champions of the right. "Who will come travel with us?"

Alfred Stiernotte

Achieving Spiritual Balance

25 April 1948

THE SUBJECT that I should like to discuss this morning is "Achieving Spiritual Balance." This is indeed an ambitious topic to tackle and I do not know whether I have acquired the advanced age of wisdom and maturity to indicate how to successfully achieve the difficult task of spiritual balance in a world full of tensions and conflicts. Nor do I wish to claim that I myself have reached full spiritual balance, for there are times when I can sympathize with Paul who wrote tellingly of "a different law in my members warring against the law of my mind" [Romans 7:23]. After all, the task of spiritual proportion is one involving, indeed, a whole lifetime, in which young and old can share, and I merely wish to offer a few thoughts on this quest with the full knowledge that I am far from being a master in the science or the art of spiritual equilibrium!

I should like to think of this inquiry as a continuation of the sermon which I preached to you some time last fall, and which was entitled "What Do We Mean by Spiritual?" I should like to explore with you at greater length the spiritual qualities we discussed, and through this fuller consideration, we then may be more adequately aware of what we mean by this quest of spiritual balance.

If you remember this discussion on the meaning of the spiritual, you may recall that we found we could not limit the meaning of spirituality to a certain type of theology, or

of church, or even one of the great religions. We found that spirituality transcended the limitations of theology, of church polity, of religion, and even of the superficial division of life into these supposedly watertight compartments — the sacred and the secular. The only way to do justice to the spiritual quality of life, as we understand it in a liberal church, is to state that the spiritual is that quality of life which is lived so intensely that the person who lives it and the quality itself become indistinguishable. They become fused in one unity, one harmonious way of thinking, living and responding to the various situations of life, so that whenever we think of this quality, we think of the person who lives it, and whenever we think of the person, his quality of life immediately springs to our consciousness.

Next we attempted to discover just what qualities of life could be called spiritual qualities. And we found about five of these which were as follows: First, the spiritual quality which has been given to us by the Christian tradition, or more exactly the tradition of Jesus, the teaching of Jesus over against the complex theology of Paul. This is simply the way of life whereby the outgoing love of a person is held to be a redemptive force compelling by its utter goodness a wrongdoer from his evil ways. We are familiar with this quality in the work of the Quakers, the absolute pacifists, and more recently it was called to our mind by the death of Gandhi.

Secondly, we had the Jewish or the Hebrew spiritual dimension, that quality which states that whatever is divine must first be just, that justice for all, even for the weakest and the humblest children of the earth, is the one way to approach whatever is divine in life. And again, we know this quality very well when we call to mind the social

reformers who received their vision out of our liberal churches and did their work to alleviate human suffering, and even to reform the social order.

Thirdly, we had the mystical quality, given to us by the religions of the East, in which the religious person feels intensely in an experience of surpassing joy and beauty his union with the divine in life. There have been Hindu mystics, and Christian mystics, and more recently naturalistic mystics, that is to say, persons whose sense of oneness did not include so much union with some supernatural order of being, as union with the world of nature as revealed by science and modern philosophy. But whatever its background or formulation, the sense of oneness with what is of supreme value remains a valid element in mysticism.

Fourthly, we had the spiritual attitude of self-mastery, which we found exemplified in Buddhism — an attitude in which the individual achieves a peculiar kind of “indifference” to the woes and arrows of fortune, and maintains under the greatest trials an inner sense of peace and equanimity. Stoicism, as the power to bear what may seem at first sight unbearable, has a good deal to do with Buddhism, and there are many occasions in life, when, in popular speech, we must “grin and bear it.”

Fifthly, we discovered an attitude of mind not usually associated with the historic religions, but which many of the more liberal spirits of our day accept as a religious quality. I refer to the scientific attitude of mind, in which the individual scientist, without the slightest desire for personal gain, and at the risk of losing cherished beliefs, will bend all his energy, all his efforts, to the quest for truth, to an increasingly more complete knowledge of the behavior of the universe — both in its vast cosmic sweep, and in its microscopic depths. A good summary of the scientific

attitude is this: "Though it slay me, yet will I trust it!"

We have, then, these five qualities of life, which are five phases, five dimensions of spirituality: the Christian, the Hebrew, the mystical, the Buddhistic, and the scientific. They are not abstractions by any means for they are perceived most clearly when they become living embodiments of the spirit in the life of some religious giant. And they exercise their greatest appeal and influence when this spiritual giant, in facing opposition or suffering, does not give way to bitterness or to pessimism, or to cowardice, but maintains his inner strength and power, so that his way of life appears to be effortless — a work of sheer artistry. The spiritual giants of the race, wherever they come, and no matter in what age they exist, are artists in the art of life, and they exemplify a way of life with intensity and yet restraint, and it is this combination of intensity and restraint which makes them figures of great persuasive power. They stand for universal values, in the sense that people in different ages and different cultures can respond to them. The response is greatest when these values are lived heroically. Dr. Frederick May Eliot, writing on the heroic life of [Eduard] Benes in the April number of *The Christian Register*, states:

The power of the spirit is seen most clearly when it is at work in the actual world, matching its strength against principalities, against the rulers of darkness of this world, against wickedness in high places, "able to withstand in the evil day," and — in moments of crisis — "having done all, to stand" [Ephesians 6:13]. Then the power of the spirit is unmistakable, and the weariest seeker for "peace of mind" cannot fail to recognize it.

And there is something else which adds to the universal character of the power of the human spirit. It is inexhaustible. By this I mean that if we think of any one of these spiritual qualities, we can never exhaust their application.

We can think of countless occasions where a little more goodwill, a little more patience would have made a great difference in human relations. And surely a congregation of this type does not need to be told the many ways in which a keener perception of the sense of justice would alleviate the sufferings of the world, and would enable men to develop their potentialities to the full without distraction or obstruction.

Or if we think of the scientific attitude, surely the scientist would be the first to state that he is far from exhausting the particular science which he investigates. When we think of the many fields of specialization, of the libraries which are being filled year after year with the results of scientific research, we can well believe that the field of science is also inexhaustible. Point your telescope to the furthest reaches of the cosmos — as will be done by the largest telescope, the 200-inch now installed at Palomar, and there appears to be no end to the millions of galaxies challenging the mind of the astronomer. Point your microscopes or your cyclotrons to examine the smallest particles of matter, the protons and the electrons, and the neutrons, and the neutrinos, and several others, and the research investigating their motion, their behavior, is really inexhaustible.

We might say, then, that each of these spiritual values is an enlightened way of life, lived intensely and heroically by some person of great character, of great devotion, so that we are moved to live as best we may in that way ourselves, and to explore further the inexhaustible quality of that life.

And yet, I now wish to present the idea that if each one of these qualities of life, each one of these spiritual qualities, is lived intensely by itself, without regard to the others, it will produce, not balance, not a sense of proportion, not harmony, but a lopsided distorted spirituality which does not

bring life but indeed may bring death. I should like to emphasize the view that spiritual balance is not reached by following any one of these five qualities by itself, but by holding two or more of them in mutual balance and adjustment in one's mind, so that the distortions, the one-sidedness of the one value is repaired, is overcome by the influence of the other values.

I should like to illustrate this theory by examining each of these values separately, and then attempt to show how the excess or distortion of one value is restored by the addition of another spiritual value. Let us take, for example, this Christian value of forgiving love as a redemptive power in life. Jesus, of course, exemplified this quality, and he said very clearly: "Greater things than these shall ye do" [cf. John 14:12]. Jesus had no idea that he was a demi-god doing magical tricks to manifest divine power. He actually said very little about himself, and when someone came to him saying "Good master," replied quickly "Why callest thou me good?" [Matthew 19:16-17]. But the Christian Church for many centuries, due to the influence of Paul, simply overturned this humble attitude of Jesus. The lowly Nazarene became a feudal monarch, sitting at the right hand of God, waiting for the last judgment. Instead of the dignity of man, a dignity which could forgive evil, there was built up the atonement theory according to which only God himself could forgive — men being sinners utterly devoid of any ethical idea, of any noble impulse, could not do so! And the only recourse they had was to throw themselves helplessly at the feet of Jesus, hoping that by a proper theology, they might escape from this sad world, leaving those who did not believe this proper theology to eternal perdition.

Now the reason for this sad state of affairs, lasting for many centuries, in which the Christian Church was not interested

in improving this world, but in providing an escape to another world, was due simply to a distortion, to a betrayal, if we may say so, of the value of love and good will which Jesus assumed, could in some measure at least, be exemplified by every human being. Now when a value becomes distorted, it stultifies itself, it creates a spiritual emptiness, a spiritual void, a spiritual pocket, if you please! And just as pockets in politics have to be filled by a more vigorous power than the power which has failed, so the spiritual void is filled by a rival value which restores balance and harmony.

Balance and harmony were restored to the liberal Christian churches, by the influx, by the ingression, of a value which had been denied — the Hebrew spiritual value of justice and doing good in this world. Did you ever ponder on this fact, that it is only within the last century that Christianity has become an ethical religion? The ethical emphasis on the teachings of Jesus, and the displacement of the complex theology of Paul, is really the way in which the distorted Christian value was brought back into balance. And what do we find? We find the beginnings of our own liberal movement with Channing, Parker and Emerson, men actively concerned with questions of social justice, such as Negro slavery, men actively concerned with the condition of the laboring masses. We find committees of social action in almost every church, which represent the more alert, more aggressive members of these churches, and which in this way have combined the stern demand for justice, which is the center of the prophetic Hebrew tradition, with the gentler attitude of Christian love and goodwill. It may seem strange to say it, but the Christian churches have been saved by the prophetic spirit of Judaism. These two values combining together produce a heightened spiritual awareness, a richness of the soul which either of them alone could not have.

Similarly, if we take the sense of justice by itself, it may become too harsh, too unyielding, without any springs of mercy being left to sweeten life. A good example of this attitude is to be found in that well-known French novel, *Les Misérables*, by Victor Hugo. You may recall that the hero of this novel, Jean Valjean, is sent to jail because he stole a loaf of bread. Escaping from jail, through many episodes he is pursued relentlessly by a policeman — his name is Javert — who incarnates the idea of blind duty to justice. No one must be allowed to escape; the guilty person must be pursued to the ends of the earth, and brought to justice. And as he was about to capture Jean Valjean, a new conception entered into Javert's mind, and disturbed horribly the seeming balance which he had achieved in his idea of blind justice. Dimly there entered into the mind of this policeman the realization that this man whom he thought a criminal was a noble man, having atoned for his very slight infraction of right conduct, by many years of service to mankind. And there entered into the soul of this policeman the devastating conception that before the nobility of this man, this blind adherence to justice encased in legal books, without provision for mercy, was simply the embodiment of his failure. For this policeman, Javert, to admit his failure, to admit that he had been wrong all these years, was unbearable. And our psychologists and psychiatrists are probably right when they claim that to prevent ourselves from facing a painful situation, we punish ourselves. So Javert could not face the lack of this new dimension in his life, this dimension of mercy which he had ignored. He punished himself by committing suicide.

Of course, I do not mean to imply that our courts of justice are conducted with this blind regard for abstract legality. There has been much improvement, and we have many humane judges on our benches.

Again, we see that the values of outgoing love and mercy on the one hand, and a stern demand for justice on the other, must be held in proper balance, so as to provide enrichment, proportion, and even victory in our souls.

Another value, especially given to us by the Eastern religions, is mysticism. And I know very well that mysticism is a word in bad repute, a word which some socially-minded Unitarians, or some scientifically-minded Unitarians, would reject as implying some fantastic experience. And the reason is, once again, that mysticism as a spiritual attitude had become distorted, lopsided, nullified, by remaining encased within itself, and not becoming harmonized with other spiritual values. There is a life-denying mysticism, and we find this in the experiences of some Hindu mystics when they produce trances and claim their experience is so intense that they literally pass out. And they lose consciousness not merely for a few hours, but for weeks on end! You may convince yourself of this extreme kind of mysticism by reading the life of Ramakrishna, whose experiences seemed to concentrate on sheer emptiness, sheer void. The more intense the emptiness he could conceive — if that is possible — the greater the mystical sense he thought he had. Now, I would submit, that mysticism is here a distorted quality, which adds a fictitious spiritual appearance to one's life. It is empty of content, empty of devotion to social causes, denies the world. In order that mysticism be enriched, it must not remain alone, isolated; it must be combined with the Christian and the Hebrew spiritual values. Suppose we so combine it, what do we derive?

First, if we combine the mystical outlook with the Christian value, we derive the spiritual value which we observe in the great pacifists, such as Gandhi, Rufus M. Jones, and Muriel Lester, recently in this city. In this conception, the pacifist

believes that the character of reality is such that the pacifist way of life will prove victorious. The absolute pacifist — rightly or wrongly — believes his life is immersed in this very reality of love and goodwill as being characteristics of the deepest in the universe, and he can thereby combine his practical behavior with a sense of oneness with a divine reality which demands this practical behavior.

Second, if we combine the mystical outlook with the Hebrew prophetic value, we derive very interesting developments for our times full of tensions and impending conflicts. One of the chief features of Hebrew prophecy was that history was not something static, unchangeable, but that history had a direction, that history was moving through time to achieve some divine purpose, and that this purpose was best exemplified by greater and wider justice for all. Now there are people in our own day who believe something very much like this, namely, that history and the time through which history moves are very real, that we have a part to play in shaping this history, and that our wills and our hands can bring about greater measures of justice, brotherhood, and harmony among all peoples. Now if we think of the nature of reality as the continuing struggle of Life for greater achievement and development against the constraining influences which reduce life to a mean, impoverished quality, then we can be mystically attuned, at one with this conception of reality as a cosmic struggle impinging in our individual lives, entering into our consciousness, and demanding the most practical actions for justice. In this approach, therefore, the mystical spiritual quality is reinforced, is enriched, is given a new lease of life, when it is combined, when it is given new content derived from the Christian and Hebrew spiritual values. Mysticism can still endure, on condition that there must be something concrete

with which we are to identify ourselves, and not just an empty abstraction, as was all too often the case with the mystics who lacked awareness of their social responsibility. In this way, spiritual balance is again achieved, and this balance will enable us to share in the tensions and conflicts of our day, without becoming despondent, or hysterical about them. The Eternal Struggle lives on, embracing all mankind, and we are enriched by it, and we in turn are privileged to enrich it, by adding our own efforts to this human and cosmic direction for larger justice and brotherhood in history.

Another value of spiritual importance is the scientific spirit. And here too, if this value is held within the confines of the scientific laboratory, the scientist may become absorbed in his abstract research without bearing in mind the good or evil results which his research may have on society. The scientist may reside in an "ivory tower" in a place of safety, contemplating the orderliness of the universe, and the relentless march of cosmic forces, or lost in the minute details of his work. But we feel that this is a rather partial vision, which can only become enriched when it is combined with actual concern for human welfare, which we find exemplified, of course, in our familiar Christian and Hebrew values. So once again, the abstract search for truth cannot remain isolated, but must be enriched by being combined with the Christian and Hebrew spiritual dimensions.

We are indeed fortunate that more and more scientists are being concerned with the plight of their fellows. In medical research, particularly, we find scientists investigating the many ills with which our poor humanity is afflicted and working relentlessly to find the remedy for such scourges as cancer. When this discovery is made, it will be given to all suffering people in need of succor, quite regardless of the

comparative goodness or badness of the one who suffers — an apt illustration of the scientific search for truth combined with a Christian attitude of mercy.

If the scientist probes more deeply into the social scene and warns us, as indeed Einstein and many physicists have done, of the dangers of uncontrolled atomic energy, and that changes in our social structure or in our international relations may be involved, then it seems to me, he is combining the scientific spirit with the Hebrew concern for justice. Similarly, the economist, the social scientist, the sociologist, the anthropologist use their scientific spiritual attitude when they search for objective truth in these areas of life. But once the man of science has found the patterns of economic structure, patterns of culture, patterns of racial relations, it is also his duty as a citizen to give his assistance to whatever forces and movements within these patterns do signify better human relations, greater brotherhood, and wider justice.

So, once again, we see that the scientist who will appeal most to us is not merely the man who is locked up in his laboratory on some abstract research, but the man who can fire our imagination by making clear to us the practical bearing of his research for humanity. We are all members of one body, and the scientist who relates his search for truth to human welfare achieves a heightened spiritual dimension by so doing.

Again, if we think once more of the mystical quality, that spiritual value can also be enriched by relating it to the scientific picture of the universe in which we live, move and have our being. Due to the advance of science, which has revealed to us the immense size of the universe — with the far-flung galaxies containing billions of stars, sending their light to us for millions of years — it is possible for us to

relate the mystical quality with the scientific truth about the universe. And I presume that the first reaction is one of gloom, almost despair, for as we survey the heavens, we are impressed by our own littleness, by our own limitations. Who are we, living on this speck of dust in a very small planet revolving around a mediocre sun? Who are we who dare to investigate these cosmic depths and formulate our theories about an expanding or a contracting universe? We are overwhelmed by these incomprehensible dimensions, these really "astronomical" figures. Our whole solar system could be blotted out, and the great cosmic spectacle would go on undiminished in splendor!

One of the scientists who in his writings delighted his readers with the beauty and the grandeur of the heavens is Camille Flammarion, the well-known French popularizer of the science. In one of his books, *Popular Astronomy*, he put down for his readers the weight of the sun, and calculated from it its tremendous heating capacity. The weight of the sun in tons would be an incomprehensible number of something like thirty digits. Of course, it is beyond our understanding, but for Flammarion this huge number, this mathematical monstrosity, takes on poetic dimensions, it adds wings to his imagination, it gives him the sense of the sublime, and in this impassioned mood, this is what this French astronomer writes:

And you philosophers of Greece! alchemists of the Middle Ages! scientists of modern times! O thinkers of all ages! you should be dumb before the sublime star! What is our voice in nature? We may pile up metaphors upon metaphors, we shall only lower these magnitudes to our own size. We are but pygmies pretending to scale the sky.

But pygmies or not, we can feel the sublime in life, especially given to us by the grandeur of the cosmos. And

our mood of littleness is changed to one of pride, because after all, it is the human mind which has discovered these stupendous facts about the universe. It is the human mind which has devised these precision instruments, these huge telescopes which probe into the very life of the universe, measure the distance of galaxies, and weigh the stars. It is this same human mind which yearns to grapple with the Inexhaustible Mystery. There is a very intriguing poem by Edna St. Vincent Millay, "Renascece," in which she expresses beautifully this yearning to unravel the mystery of the universe. I should like to quote a few verses from this poem:

The sky, I thought, is not so grand;
 I 'most could touch it with my hand!
 And reaching up my hand to try,
 I screamed to feel it touch the sky.
 I screamed, and — lo! — Infinity
 Came down and settled over me;
 Forced back my scream into my chest;
 Bent back my arm upon my breast;
 And, pressing of the Undefined
 The definition on my mind,
 Held up before my eyes a glass
 Through which my shrinking sight did pass
 Until it seemed I must behold
 Immensity made manifold;
 Whispered to me a word whose sound
 Deafened the air for worlds around,
 And brought unmuffled to my ears
 The gossiping of friendly spheres,
 The creaking of the tented sky,
 The ticking of Eternity.
 I saw and heard, and knew at last
 The How and Why of all things, past,
 And present, and forevermore.
 The Universe, cleft to the core,
 Lay open to my probing sense.

Yes, we would like to have the "Universe cleft to the core" and open to our "probing sense." We are moved by the inexhaustibility of the grandeur of the universe, and we are equally moved by the inexhaustibility of the grandeur of the highest product of the universe — the spiritual giants who incarnate qualities of love, goodwill, justice, mysticism, and self-mastery. And I would submit that self-mastery is achieved best of all when we hold these other four spiritual qualities in proper balance, not isolated, not distorted, but mutually enriched and all steeped in the beauty of the mystical vision.

And this mystical vision — which Emerson so well knew — gives us the heart of Emerson's message to our age, the message of self-reliance:

Trust thyself; every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the divine providence has found for you, the society of your contemporaries, the connection of events. Great men have always done so, and confided themselves childlike to the genius of their age, betraying their perception that the absolutely trustworthy was seated at their heart, working through their hands, predominating in all their being. And we are now men, and must accept in the highest mind the same transcendent destiny; and not minors and invalids in a protected corner, not cowards fleeing before a revolution, but guides, redeemers and benefactors, obeying the Almighty effort and advancing on Chaos and the Dark.

Harold Scott

New and Better Bibles

11 April 1954

ALTHOUGH JESUS, in common with the people of Galilee, spoke Aramaic, in his day Greek was becoming the language most commonly written and understood in the Mediterranean world. The Old Testament, while written mainly in Hebrew (part of Daniel and parts of Ezra in Aramaic), had been translated into Greek during the course of the third and second centuries before Christ in what is known as the Septuagint, and the books we know as the Old Testament apocrypha added. All or most of the present New Testament was written in the Greek used by the common people rather than the older classical form. Christianity spread rapidly and there came to be demands for the Scriptures in native tongues. Before the end of the second century A.D. there were portions of the Bible translated into Latin, Syriac, and some dialects of Coptic, and by the fourth century into Armenian, Ethiopic, and Gothic.

By A.D. 200 the fathers of the church in the west were writing in both Latin and Greek. In another hundred years the church in the west was rather thoroughly Latinized. Latin Biblical manuscripts were many. Because of the inevitable errors involved in much copying no two copies completely agreed. So in A.D. 382 Bishop Damasus of Rome commissioned the scholar Jerome to make one standard Latin text for all the books of the Bible in use at that time in the west. The Latin Bibles of Jerome's day had been translated by

unknown persons and are known today as the "Old Latin" text. This Jerome rendered into the common Latin speech of his time, making cautious corrections in the New Testament from the best Greek manuscripts available to him. He then began work on the Old Testament, collating the Old Latin versions with the Septuagint, which method he soon abandoned, completing the Old Testament from the Hebrew. He finished his task in A.D. 405. His work met bitter opposition but it became the standard text of the Roman Catholic church at the council of Trent in 1546, and has remained so to the present time. The Greek translations of the Old Testament and the Greek copies of the New Testament originals were lost to the church of the west through the disuse of Greek until the Renaissance, when renewed interest in Greek literature excited interest in the Greek Scriptures. Printing was invented in Europe in 1454, insuring from that time on accuracy in the preservation of the Bible text, which had not been possible in handmade copies. The first complete printed book was the Latin Bible or Vulgate of Jerome printed by Gutenberg in Mainz in 1455 or 1456. It is known as the Mazarin Bible, and a copy may be seen in the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C.

The first printed Greek New Testament to be published reached the world in 1516. It was the work of the great humanist scholar Erasmus. In 1502 Cardinal Francisco Ximenes, Archbishop of Toledo, set himself to the task of preparing a polyglot Bible giving in parallel columns the Old Testament in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek, and the New Testament in Greek and Latin. This was an expensive and elaborate work for the comparatively new art of printing. Though the New Testament was actually off the presses before Erasmus' New Testament, the edition did not reach

the public until 1522, six years after Erasmus' Greek New Testament. How many Greek manuscripts were consulted for this work is not known, but the consensus of opinion seems to be that they were few and late, and from the standpoint of today, it was not a distinguished work. It was consulted by Erasmus for his edition of 1527, but affected it very little. It had a slight effect on the English revision known as the Great Bible. The Greek New Testament of Erasmus had quite a different history. Erasmus was hurried through his work by Froben, the printer of Basle, who was anxious to place before the world a Greek New Testament before the polyglot of Ximenes appeared. Erasmus had before him the Vulgate and only such Greek Biblical manuscripts as were at Basle, which were four cursives, or runninghand manuscripts, dating from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries. He produced four more editions in which the typographical errors were eliminated and slight changes were made in consultation with a few additional late manuscripts. The best edition is the fourth, that of 1527; but his text always remained inadequate. Yet this text, changed slightly from time to time by Robert Estienne, or Stephanus (1550), Theodorus Beza (1582), and others, became and remained the received Greek text upon which English Protestant compilers of the New Testament depended until the Revised Version of 1881. Erasmus' text also was the basis for most of the translations of the New Testaments of continental Europe.

It may be noted that an Englishman named Bede translated the Fourth Gospel from the Vulgate into Anglo-Saxon in the eighth century; and another, named Wycliffe (1320-1384), with help, translated the whole Bible from the Vulgate into Midland English, the language of Chaucer. However, these translations had little effect on later English Bibles and are outside their direct line of ancestry.

The real father of the English Bible is William Tyndale. There is some doubt about the exact year of his birth; but, if, as many claim, he was born in 1492, it would be difficult to say which was the more important, his birth or the voyage of Columbus. Due to English hostility most of his work was done on the continent, and his New Testament was printed at Cologne and Worms. His first edition was completed in 1525 and his second in 1526 and both reached England in 1526. His translation was based on the editions of 1516 and 1522 of Erasmus' Greek text. He was aided by the Vulgate, Erasmus' Latin translation of his own Greek text, and Luther's German New Testament (1522) with marginal notes. In 1534 from Antwerp he brought out a careful revision of his New Testament and it is upon this that his reputation as a translator rests, although there was a final edition in 1535. Tyndale also translated the Old Testament from Genesis to I Chronicles inclusively, the book of Jonah, and bits and parts from the rest of the Old Testament and the apocrypha. The Pentateuch and Jonah, of these translations, were published before his death. It should be noted that Tyndale's work did not consist in translations of translations as Wycliffe's work, or of revisions of English editions like subsequent English Bibles, but was translated from original tongues into English speech. Tyndale was tried and convicted of heresy under the then existing laws by a Flemish court. He was strangled and his body burned at Vilvorde near Brussels in 1536.

While Tyndale was awaiting trial in Vilvorde prison there appeared in England in 1535 a complete English Bible, printed on the continent and compiled by Myles Coverdale. A second edition published in 1537 appeared "with the King's most gracious license." This Bible was not based on any independent study of original tongues by Coverdale but was Tyndale's New Testament with the familiar but inac-

curate terms restored, Tyndale's Pentateuch, and the Bible of Zwingli and Juda (1529), Luther's German Bible, the Vulgate, and a Latin Bible by Pagninus (1528). The Old Testament apocryphal books were included.

In 1537 a Bible bearing the name of Thomas Matthew, but really the work of Tyndale's literary executor, John Rogers, appeared under the license of the king. The New Testament was Tyndale's translation. In the Old Testament all the translations Tyndale had made were utilized. The rest of the Old Testament and apocrypha was Coverdale with some corrections, thus based on the Latin and German rather than the original tongues. This Bible contained the terminology, and more of the text of Tyndale than did the Coverdale Bible.

Taverner's English Bible (1539) was a private revision of the Matthew's Bible by a lawyer who had considerable knowledge of classical Greek. It may be remembered as the first English Bible to be completely printed on English soil.

In 1539, by order of Thomas Cromwell, appeared the Great Bible with Myles Coverdale as editor. The New Testament was based on Tyndale's translation with a leaning toward the Latinisms of the Vulgate. The Old Testament was the Matthew's Old Testament with some changes inspired by the polyglot of Ximenes. The apocrypha was included.

The Great Bible smacked too much of Rome to be pleasing to the party of the reformation which brought out in Geneva in 1560 the Geneva Bible noted for its bias in favor of Calvinistic theology particularly in the marginal notes, and for being the Bible of Shakespeare, the army of Oliver Cromwell (1599-1658), and of the New England Pilgrims and Puritans. This too was a revision of Tyndale as his translations had appeared in the various English Bibles with changes made in consultation with Beza's Latin translation

and by the received Greek text as it stood after the slight revisions of Stephanus. It was the first English Bible in which the entire Old Testament was based on the Hebrew. The apocrypha was omitted in some editions. This was the first English Bible printed in Roman rather than black letter type, and the first to have verse divisions.

The Puritanism and popularity of the Geneva Bible were so great that they moved the established church to bring out the Bishops Bible in 1568, which though authorized by convocation, Queen Elizabeth was careful not to recognize. This Bible was a revision of the Great Bible. Though all the previous English versions were consulted, and considerable reliance was placed on the Latin version of Pagninus (1528) and Sebastian Munster (1535), the changes were slight and the work uneven. The apocrypha was included.

In 1610 there appeared the complete Rheims-Douay Bible which was a Roman Catholic rendering in English of the Vulgate. The New Testament had been published separately in 1582. The entire work is famous for its Latinisms and general unintelligibility, both characteristics of which to some extent influenced the King James Bible. The apocrypha was printed, not as an apocrypha, but as part of the Old Testament.

In many present day editions of the King James version, the title page announces that it is "The Holy Bible translated out of original tongues;" that it is the "authorized version," or that it is "appointed to be read in churches;" or that it is "the translation of 1611." Conversation with church people shows these statements have been a bit misleading. The King James version was not authorized by either church or state. It was not a direct translation out of original tongues in the sense of Tyndale's translations from Hebrew and Greek, but was a revision of the English Bishops Bible. The revision of

1611 was itself revised in 1615, 1629, 1638, 1654, 1762, and 1769. Sir Frederick Kenyon has this to say of the 1611 revision: "It was the work of 86 years gestation with Tyndale's work, as supplemented by Coverdale, always at the base of it." James Moffatt says the King James version was a revision of the Bishops Bible on the basis of Tyndale, Coverdale, and even the Genevan and Rheims-Douay Bibles assisted by the Greek *Textus Receptus* of 1550. In respect to the use of the *Textus Receptus*, Kenyon says:

The misfortune of the version for which the revisers were not to blame, was they had such a defective text to translate from. Tyndale and Coverdale worked on Erasmus' text aided by German and Latin translations. The Genevans and King James' revisers had the received text of 1550. All alike were in fact accepting as the authentic Greek text the form it had assumed after 1,400 years of transmissions by manuscripts, and with the deterioration, small in each detail but cumulatively great, due to the errors of scribes and the well-meant efforts of editors.

W. H. Hoare estimates that in the King James Bible is retained eighty per cent of Tyndale in the Old Testament and ninety per cent in the New Testament. Edgar J. Goodspeed says, "It is not too much to say that William Tyndale wrote nine-tenths of the King James New Testament."

The revised version of the New Testament of 1881 and of the Old Testament of 1885 were due to the changes in the growing English language and to the recovery and study of Biblical manuscripts representing earlier copies of the original documents, not available to the compilers of the English Bibles up to and including the King James version of 1611. Most important of these manuscript recoveries and studies were those of the capital letter or uncial manuscripts, written by hand, and bound into books.

One of these uncials, called *Codex Bezae*, had been known

for a long time but little use had been made of it. It had been consulted in the preparation of the *Textus Receptus* recension of 1550 by Stephanus, but few corrections had been made from it. It was rediscovered by Theodorus Beza in Lyons in 1562. It is now in the library in Cambridge, England. It is a Greek-Latin manuscript and contains the canonical gospels and a part of the general epistles. It dates from the fifth or sixth century. It has always been used with extreme care because of constant divergences from the great uncials. The *Codex Alexandrinus* has been available for study since 1627. It dates from the early fifth century and is in the British Museum. It contains the Old Testament plus Maccabeus I and II, and the New Testament plus Clement I and II. The *Codex Vaticanus* was not available in a complete trustworthy edition suitable for study until 1881. Some sections, however, had been copied and edited previously. The Old Testament was consulted in an edition of the *Septuagint* published by Pope Sixtus V in 1587. This great uncial dates from the fourth century. It contains the Old Testament and the New Testament with some parts missing.

Translators preparing a Testament do not ordinarily translate from manuscripts but from a standard text with such other versions and helps as are available. The Greek text used in the English versions was the Greek text of Erasmus called the *Textus Receptus* since the time of Stephanus. This was never based on primitive and important manuscripts in the New Testament. The Old Testament had fared better. Since 1587 the Old Testament had been corrected by the *Septuagint* of the important *Vaticanus* manuscript. A catalog, admittedly incomplete, published in 1836, listed forty-six uncials, 995 cursives, and 239 lectionaries, or collections of lessons for use in churches. All this material in process of being collated, edited, compared, and set alongside the *Textus Receptus* caused

dissatisfaction with the existing text, and many new critical Greek texts came to be produced.

Perhaps Karl Lachmann is the father of the present scientific method of arriving at a critical Greek text independent of the *Textus Receptus*. The edition upon which his reputation chiefly rests is that of 1842-50. Constantine Tischendorf (1815-1874), like Lachmann, a German, carried the principles of textual study further. He published eight editions of the Greek New Testament, four editions of the Latin New Testament, and four editions of the *Septuagint*. His final edition of the Greek New Testament of 1869-72 with full textual apparatus provided the first critical Greek text based on the available Greek manuscripts. Tischendorf is best known as the discoverer in 1859 of the great uncial manuscript call *Codex Sinaiticus*, which was made available for general study in 1862. This uncial preserves a part of the Old Testament, a part of the apocrypha, the entire New Testament plus the Epistle of Barnabas and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas. It, like the *Alexandrinus*, is now in the British Museum. It dates from the early fourth century. Tischendorf had the use of it in preparing his critical Greek text of 1869-72. Two English scholars, B. F. Westcott and F. J. A. Hort, made use of the work of Tischendorf, and after years of labor, published in 1881 a critical Greek text that held the field for years and is in active use at the present time.

In 1870, the revision of the King James version was voted by convocation. The work was done by a company of fifty-four scholars which body included Episcopalians, Baptists, Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, and Unitarians. Two years later an American body of thirty scholars was organized which reviewed the work of the English body as it was produced and submitted to it in America. The revised version in the New Testament had the

advantage of a Greek text that gave effect to the available knowledge of the manuscripts of its time; something that was not true of any previous English New Testament. Westcott and Hort were members of the English committee and the results of their years of research were available to that body. The committee also had the accumulated aids of the revisers of earlier English versions. The Revised Version contains more than 36,000 changes from the King James Version in the New Testament alone. The American committee was disappointed at the comparatively small number of its suggestions that were given effect in the published Revised Version. The American committee had entered into an agreement with the English revisers not to assist in a further revision for fourteen years. The Americans were sensitive to the many archaisms and Anglicisms that the English body retained. Very early after the publication of the Revised Version it set to work preparing a recension. With the aid of other American scholars, not members of the original American committee, it went far beyond the recommendations the first committee had made to the English revisers. An enormous amount of work was done and the American Standard Bible was given to the public in 1901. At the time of its publication it was probably the most nearly perfect Bible printed in the English language.

At the time of the writing of the New Testament, papyrus, made from water reed, was the common writing material of the eastern Mediterranean world. Manuscripts in the form of papyrus rolls, or bound as a book or codex have been found from time to time in Italy, Egypt, and east of the Mediterranean Sea, since the middle of the eighteenth century. In 1897 Grenfell and Hunt discovered at Oxyrhynchus and in other places in upper Egypt rich deposits of papyri. Among them was one called "Sayings of Jesus" dating about

A.D. 200, and a fragment of the gospel according to Matthew dating from the third century. Of all the finds probably not more than three per cent are literary. Most of the writings are documents of private or legal life. The significance of them to the Biblical student is the discovery that the Greek of the New Testament is the colloquial Greek of the papyri, that is, the language of the common people. This throws a flood of light on the idiom of the New Testament Greek. In 1901 James Moffatt, an English scholar, published an Historical New Testament based on the Greek critical text of Nestle that gave effect to the colloquial nature of the language of the New Testament. In 1913 he published a new translation of the New Testament based on the critical Greek text of von Soden of 1902-1913, and in 1924 his full edition of the Bible. In 1923 Edgar J. Goodspeed, an American scholar, published a New Testament that rendered the colloquial language of the New Testament into the colloquial language of America. He followed the critical Greek text of Westcott and Hort. Many other translations into modern speech have also been made.

The discovery of papyri continued with occasional discoveries of Biblical manuscripts in Syriac, Greek, Arabic, and Latin. Parchment manuscripts were still sometimes found. In 1906 Mr. Charles L. Freer of Detroit recovered from Cairo four Greek manuscripts: two Old Testament, and two New Testament, dating from the fifth to the seventh centuries, each in damaged condition. These are known as the Washington Codex and are in the Freer Gallery of the National Museum in Washington, D.C. One of the most notable papyrus discoveries was in 1930, and is known as the A. Chester Beatty Biblical papyri. It came from Egypt. It is a large find consisting of leaves, fragments of books, and even collections of several books, of the Old and New Testaments

and non-canonical books. The assembled discovery dates from the second, third, and fourth centuries. This newest major discovery supplies the oldest text extant of some parts of the scripture and throws light on what was the Bible text in very early times.

The translator of today has a Greek text that is comparatively free from glosses, emendations, deliberate changes, and scribal errors. For the making of a modern Greek text there are about 200 uncials (all but sixty are fragments), and more than 4,000 cursives.* There are also enormous quantities of Biblical and non-Biblical papyrus manuscripts in several languages. The Bible was early translated into many tongues. The present day knowledge of these tongues is vastly improved. Translation back into the original tongues throws light on the ancient text. The study books of the church, or lectionaries, contained parts of the scripture used by Christian worshippers. Their familiar forms were continued in use after other texts had been compiled, and thus often display a more primitive text than manuscripts of the same date. There are over 1,600 of these now available for study. Also the translator of today has the advantage of batteries of well-compiled grammars, lexicons, concordances, commentaries, and translations.

The Revised Standard Version New Testament appeared in 1946 and the complete Bible in 1952. It has been received with great popularity but probably it will soon be revised to meet some of the objections of its critics. The demand is always for a better Bible. The ambition that has always pushed on scholars in this field has been to produce as

*According to Kurt Aland and Barbara Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1989), 74, the present number of New Testament Greek manuscripts is 96 papyri, 299 uncials, 2812 minuscules, and 2281 lectionaries.

accurate a translation as possible of what the Scriptural writers said. There seems to be no place to stop.

Hugh W. Gillilan

One Man's Perspective on Mormonism

20 June 1965

AT THE OUTSET of this morning's discussion I think it should be noted that I do not propose to offer to you an exposé or "inside story" of Mormonism, a definitive analysis of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or an anti-Mormon diatribe. What I do propose to do is to share with you a few impressions gained in recent years regarding an influential religious body which tends to dominate much of the life of our part of the country and increasingly elsewhere as well. My observations are biased, of course, by my past training and experience, my temperament, and my humanistic orientation. While what follows is but a portion of this man's perspective on Mormonism, I do want to acknowledge my appreciation of three particular books which have helpfully supplemented my own observations: *No Man Knows My History* by Fawn Brodie, *The Latter Day Saints in the Modern World* by William J. Whalen, and *The Mormons* by Thomas F. O'Dea.

For simplicity of discussion structure I will utilize the simple device of citing first what I deem to be the assets of Mormonism and secondly its liabilities.

I very much appreciate the industry, determination, courage, and ingenuity represented by the Mormons who have settled and developed this valley. I "take my hat off" to the perseverance exhibited by the many persons who contended with man and nature to carve out a new home in this desert setting. And I admire the organizational prowess

of Mormon leaders who developed most efficient institutions to suit their purposes. Their determination and ingenuity gave ample evidence that their evolving and positive doctrine of man and man's potentialities in this life was not ill-founded. I congratulate the Mormons on the fellowship and sense of community evident wherever they gather, a fellowship which flows naturally and easily into mutual support and reassurance, particularly in times of special need. In a typically folksy and non-ostentatious manner reminiscent of a rural past, Mormons seem able to quickly mobilize their personal and collective resources for the alleviation of personal crises and the common good. The Mormons are to be commended for their emphasis upon family strength as the source for individual nurture and social order.

Likewise, it strikes me as a decidedly healthy phenomenon to achieve a high degree of lay involvement in the life of the church where virtually every individual has an opportunity to feel a definite part of the whole, to have a recognized place, to make a recognized contribution. The self-identity gained through self-commitment to community values produces an essential sense of purpose and well-being. The Mormons have been a decisive force in achieving the community pride exhibited by Utah communities, particularly in Salt Lake City with its often underrated cultural achievements and opportunities and its beauty too much taken for granted. Many factors, undergirded by Mormons and Mormon values, contribute to making Salt Lake City a pleasant city in which to live — if one is not too hostile toward the LDS Church to enjoy the pleasantness which exists.

While we may disagree with specific prohibitions of our Mormon neighbors, I think it is undeniable that the "Word of Wisdom" contains words of wisdom, and there is much

to be said for the life of temperance (i.e. moderation) and health engendered thereby. I salute the Mormons for their concern for their youth and the extensive program and recreational opportunities they provide for their children through the church. The encouragement of play as well as industry is a boon to any growing child. And a related concern is the typical Mormon emphasis upon education, an emphasis which has enhanced the common good for all of us who share life in this community. Particularly are the Mormons to be congratulated for their support of education when they know as well as anyone that through education they run the continuing risk of losing members from their church.

These, then, are some of the assets which readily come to mind when I consider the strengths of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. If these assets were the only pertinent factors in Mormonism, I could well be a Mormon. But there are other factors, large factors, which constitute monumental liabilities — in my judgment. Foremost is the fantastic theology which underlies Mormon life. I use the term *fantastic* carefully, in the dictionary sense, “of, pertaining to, or of the nature of, fantasy or imagination, hence: imaginary, unreal, irrational, conceived or having the appearance of being conceived by wild and unrestrained fancy; bizarre; grotesque; quaint; eccentric; whimsical; fanciful, odd,” and also in the colloquial sense, a source of wonderment and awe. I never cease to be amazed by many of the teachings of Mormons, amazed and disturbed. Disturbed because fantasies taken seriously are so often detrimental to human welfare.

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints is founded in a particular man, Joseph Smith, and in a particular book, the Book of Mormon. I would be less than honest if I did

not say that I can only regard Joseph Smith as an imaginative, intelligent, opportunistic, and perhaps personable young man, who was also either the conscious perpetrator of a grand hoax or a most unusual example of self-deception — or perhaps both at various stages of his life. The Book of Mormon I deem to be the product of his fertile mind which was influenced by his reading, his experiences, and the knowledge of his times. I would accept in essence and as a minimal statement the perspective reflected in this quotation from Thomas O'Dea's *The Mormons*:

There is a simple commonsense explanation which states that Joseph Smith was a normal person living in an atmosphere of religious excitement that influenced his behavior as it had that of so many thousands of others and, through a unique concomitance of circumstances, influences, and pressures, led him from necromancy into revelation, from revelation to prophecy, and from prophecy to leadership of an important religious movement and to involvement in the bitter and fatal intergroup conflicts that his innovations and success had called forth. To the non-Mormon who does not accept the work as a divinely revealed scripture, such an explanation on the basis of the evidence at hand seems by far the most likely and safest.

If the Book of Mormon is largely based upon a fantasy, then there should be some evidence (admitting that "evidence" varies with the beholder) that to accept the fantasy as a fact requires a prodigious amount of human effort. And I think such is the case. It seems readily apparent that Mormons striving to believe literally in the golden plates as a fiat from heaven, with all of the attendant fantasies, spend a great amount of time in public testimony sessions and in private inner turmoil protesting, "I know that Joseph Smith was a true prophet and that the Book of Mormon is true." It was Shakespeare, or someone (the Book of Mormon isn't the only collection of writings with a debatable authorship),

who had a character say, "Me thinkest thou protest over-much!" I am afraid there is much "whistling in the dark" and mutual encouragement needed to quiet anxieties and to believe in fantasies as reality. For many earnest seekers the road to such belief is long and all uphill. It would seem such a regrettable and needless waste of time and effort.

Fantasies passing as truth not only need verbal repetition to evoke authenticity but they also need some degree of isolation and insulation from conflicting thought. An authoritarian structure is an added inducement to preserve conformity. In Mormonism I see an undue provincialism as a natural and expected result of the effort to exclude and resist contrary and therefore threatening ideas. There is manifest a preoccupation with the in-group, the Mormon community, in regard to membership, secrecy of rites, welfare activities, scholarship, definition of belonging ("Saints" vs. "Gentiles" etc.), and the necessity of converting the out-group members to the in-group point of view.

Mormon scholarship tends to be incestuous, i.e., it is conceived and nurtured within the family with scant regard to other major streams of thought. While there is much disparagement of non-Mormon religious thought, there is also little awareness of what is actually going on theologically and philosophically outside of Mormonism. One does not find in Mormonism the cross-fertilization of ideas and ideals of diverse religious views, as is true in the present ecumenical era of Roman Catholicism and Protestantism. And just as Mormon scholars seem to be oblivious to advancing religious and secular thought outside Mormonism, so does the Mormon community seem to be largely oblivious to the great social upheavals and concerns which are part and parcel of contemporary life on our planet. One thinks of the continuing revolution of dark-skinned people everywhere to achieve

material wants and human dignity, of the momentous problems related to automated and computerized industry, of the desire in Africa, the Far and Near East, and South America for non-exploitative governments, of the worldwide population explosion, of the awesome social problems of urbia and suburbia, of institutions of international cooperation such as the United Nations, and of the various groups and methodologies of the peace movement. Frequent references to Communism, atheism, crime, and adultery are heard in Mormon circles but so little else, it seems, of real social concern. Again, the pursuit of fantasies can leave little time for the encounter with hard realities.

The disparagement of the Negro in Mormonism I judge came partly by chance and partly as a product of institutionalized prejudice and expediency. However the disparagement came, it is a tragic factor in Mormon life. Prejudice given religious blessing is an insidious force. And no amount of rationalizing about the relative unimportance of the priesthood for the Negro in this life will overcome the fact that a second-class theological status intensifies a second-class social status. The Negro has quite enough to contend with without the supposed animosity of God. Human animosity is more than devastating enough.*

The presumptuousness of some Mormons, consciously and unconsciously, is perhaps as galling to non-Mormons as more momentous matters. The innumerable references to "the" church, and to LDS church activities, as if everyone were of course in agreement and interested, the inevitable blessings upon assorted public gatherings, and the persistence of missionaries at the door or at the most unexpected places

*Black males in the LDS church were given the right to priesthood ordination in 1978.

constitute the little insensitivities that many of us could easily live without. There is an authoritarianism about Mormonism that is particularly oppressing because it is reinforced by the supposed commandments of God and a pseudo-democratic manner of sustaining leadership. Few true elections by the people are conducted, and many items of church administration and financing are withheld from the general membership. While free agency is exalted in doctrine, it is applauded only in practice for the true believer who chooses the correct path. The person who uses his free agency to apostatize is not infrequently harassed and chastised for his excessive independence.

The LDS church, to the outsider, tends to monopolize the time and efforts and an excessive amount of financial support of its devotees. Many subtle pressures are readily utilized to exact participation and support which do little to give credence to true independence of thought or free agency. There is a conservatism about Mormonism that is perpetuated by a deference to the elderly for leadership positions and a pronounced avoidance of young, liberal, and progressive Mormons for influential offices. The conscientious liberal Mormon frequently experiences severe turmoil. Unwilling to forsake his religious heritage and values, in effect to renounce his culture to a degree perhaps unique among American religious groupings, and yet oppressed by an unyielding literalism of doctrine and conservative leadership, he may drift outwardly along with the tide but inwardly be sorely distressed. It can seem so hopeless to try to influence the LDS church in a more liberal direction from within the church.

There are several facets of life in Mormonism characterized by a notable ambivalence. Intelligence, for instance, is exalted, "The glory of God is intelligence" [Doctrine and

Covenants 93:36], and schools are readily supported, and yet revelation must always have precedence over reason. The works of men are never to conflict with or contradict the words of God. "The glory of God is intelligence" can refer to God's intelligence, not man's. Seminaries and institutes are as close to schools and universities as possible to guard against error. Conformity to revealed truth, subjection before authorities, and right thinking become exalted virtues. While education in general is thought to be desirable for all, a thoroughgoing intellectual training for church leaders in particular is not thought to be especially desirable. The result is a rather unfortunate leadership by amateurs and a blessing upon mediocrity throughout the structure and program of the LDS church.

While it is taught that "man is that he might have joy" [cf. 2 Nephi 2:25], and joyful occasions are indeed encouraged, there is also evident a decided suspicion of sensuality. Guilt lingers on for the polygamy of the past and the remnants of the present, and the vigorous proscriptions against sexuality apart from the absolute confines of marriage tend to reflect the rigidity of Puritan antecedents. Adultery is a sin next to murder. While dancing and games are promoted, the pleasures of alcohol and tobacco are totally denied. Love is desirable, but anger is taboo. Consequently, the hostility repressed beneath outward sweetness and light may cause more psychosomatic misery than adherence to the Word of Wisdom alleviates. The welfare of one's neighbor is important in Mormonism, a socialism in the church dependent upon a collection of funds not unlike taxation, but a similar effort by state and national governments is deemed somehow to be the epitome of evil.

Such, it seems to me, are some of the severe liabilities of Mormonism.

When I contemplate the future of Mormonism I do not claim to be a prophet in any omniscient sense. (Real prophets never do anything other than read the signs of the times astutely.) But I do question the endurance of Mormonism given the anachronisms of its theology and structure. Current prosperity may be deceptive. An institution can begin to die within long before it succumbs or even shows outward symptoms of deterioration. While conversions to Mormonism continue at published rates, devotees are apostatizing in numbers never mentioned. Probably a majority of our members are former Mormons — and are still counted by the LDS church as such. The same state of affairs exists throughout the nation. Church statistics are notoriously deceptive. Some of you here this morning are currently being counted as members of several different churches because you have joined churches and moved frequently or because some churches are reluctant to relinquish names. In any event, I believe the world at large will eventually pass by Mormonism as a strange interlude in religious history — just as secularism continues to crowd out and diminish the influence of other churches as well in this latter half of this twentieth century. But I don't think anyone should take satisfaction in the diminution of any of the Mormon assets mentioned earlier. There is enough confusion between liberalism and license in our society.

If there is to be a church relevant to the present and of promise for the future, I could envision a combination of Mormon strengths with the strengths of Unitarian Universalism as a rather happy and productive combination. At least it is something to think about over the summer. May the next two months be re-creative for us all.

Michael F. Cunningham

Prophetic Faith or Pious Romance?

15 February 1970

If there appears among you a prophet or a dream-diviner and he gives you a sign or a portent, saying, "Let us follow and worship another god" — whom you have not experienced — and the sign or portent that he named to you comes true: do not heed the words of that prophet or that dream diviner . . . he shall be put to death; for he uttered falsehood about the Lord your God — who freed you from the land of Egypt and who redeemed you from the house of bondage — to make you stray from the path that the Lord your God commanded you to follow (Deuteronomy 13: 2-4, 6).

ORGANIZED RELIGION, throughout history, has been a tension between "true" and "false" prophets. It has been a tension between those who come to judge and teach in the name of the Law — understood as a way of life; and those who come to break it as the Xtian [Christian] Paul did in the name of some "higher" non-worldly and mystical experience. The Biblical prophets have been those considered to be "true" prophets who, deeply disturbed by the tendency of the Hebrew people to drift away into religious romanticism, dedicated their energies to recall the people to the standard of the Law. This recall to the Law was one which demanded a passionate involvement of man with his own mortal being; a concern with right conduct which seeks salvation by "doing justice, loving mercy, and walking humbly with thy god" [cf. Micah 6:8]. This view saw the Law as a way of life in which man sees his everyday actions and relationships to be the agent of God's creative and loving purpose. A literalistic interpretation of the Law with the resulting ritualism and

objectification of the holy led to the forgetfulness of dynamic, changing life and eventual flight into the mysteries of romantic religion. The Biblical prophets raised their voices in impassioned plea against this identification of Judaism with Halakah, the interpretation of Torah as petrified law rather than as a way of life.

Rabbi Simlai expounded: Six hundred and thirteen commandments were transmitted to Moses on Mount Sinai. . . . After Moses, David came and reduced the six hundred thirteen commandments to eleven, as it is written: "Lord, who shall sojourn in Your tabernacle? Who shall dwell on Your holy mountain? He who walks blamelessly, and does what is right, and speaks truth in his heart, who does not slander with his tongue, and does no evil to his friend, nor takes up a reproach against his neighbor, in whose eyes a reprobate is despised, but honors those who fear the Lord, who swears to his own hurt and does not change, who does not put out his money at interest, and does not take a bribe against the innocent" (Psalm 15:1-5).

Then Isaiah came and reduced the commandments to six, as it is written, "He who walks righteously and speaks uprightly, he who despises the gain of oppressions, who shakes his hands lest they hold a bribe, who stops his ears from hearing of bloodshed, and shuts his eyes from looking upon evil" (Isaiah 33:15). . . . Then Micah came and reduced them to three, as it is written, "It has been told you, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requires of you: To do justice, to love mercy, and to walk humbly with your God" (Micah 6:8).

The final solution of the problems of man according to Hebrew faith and championed by the prophets does not lie in a rational solution which the Greek influence maintained (e.g., as portrayed in the *Eumenides*) and which the later Christian concern with "right" doctrine emphasized. The prophets called for a change and conversion of the whole man and stressed, not an individual salvation as found in the Greek and Christian mystery religions, but a social salvation to be brought about through justice and love.

The prophetic faith was not one of withdrawal from the world and a contemplation of eternal verities. The Biblical Prophets were men who lived with intensity in the life of their times and who preached their message to those who, forgetting life, sought their God in ritual but became blind to Him in the lives of men. The obligation of caring for one's fellow man to which the prophets made reference was not merely a sentimental feeling in Judaism. This duty they referred to was spelled out specifically in the law which each man must heed. This concern was, no doubt, especially relevant to them because of their own sufferings and alienation at the hands of other nations.

For six years you shall sow your land and gather in its yield; but the seventh year you shall let it rest and lie fallow, that the poor of your people may eat; and what they leave the wild beasts may eat. You shall do likewise with your vineyard, and with your olive orchard (Exodus 23:10-11).

When you reap the harvest of your land, you shall not reap your field to its very border, neither shall you gather the gleanings after your harvest. And you shall not strip your vineyard bare, neither shall you gather the fallen grapes of your vineyard; you shall leave them for the poor and for the sojourner: I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus 19:9-10).

At the end of every three years you shall bring forth all the tithe of your produce in the same year, and lay it up within your towns; and the Levite, because he has no portion or inheritance with you, and the sojourner, the fatherless, and the widow, who are within your towns, shall come and eat and be filled; that the Lord your God may bless you in all the work of your hands that you do" (Deuteronomy 14:28-29).

In the time of the prophets, just as in our time, the beauty and emotional appeal of ritual and ceremonial were delights easily obtained and easily mistaken for religion. Then, as now, men evaded the confrontation with human need and insulated their conscience from their lives through religious

observances and ceremony. Christianity, following the Greek mystery cults, developed this to new heights. The prophets thundered against this tendency they saw to be developing in Hebrew faith.

Thus says the Lord: For three transgressions of Judah, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they have rejected the law of the Lord, and have not kept his statutes, but their lies have led them astray, after which their fathers walked. So I will send a fire upon Judah, and it shall devour the strongholds of Jerusalem. Thus says the Lord: For three transgressions of Israel, and for four, I will not revoke the punishment; because they sell the righteous for silver, and the needy for a pair of shoes — they that trample the head of the poor into the dust of the earth, and turn aside the way of the afflicted . . . (Amos 2:4-7).

Hear the word of the Lord, you rulers of Sodom! Listen to the instruction of our God, you people of Gomorrah! What use to me are your innumerable sacrifices? I am sick of the burnt rams offered to me and of the grease of fattened beasts. I get no pleasure from the blood of bulls, nor of lambs nor of he goats! Who requires such things from you when you come into my presence? I will not have you trampling my courts. Let us have no more of these gifts! The smoke of your sacrifices is detestable to me. I cannot bear your calls to prayer at Sabbath or new moon. With my soul I hate your fasts and festivals. They have become a burden to me and I am weary of carrying it. When you spread out your hands in prayer I will turn my face from you; Yes, even though you make many prayers, I shall not listen. Your hands are dripping with blood. Cleanse yourselves; make yourselves pure! Take the evil of your doings out of my sight! Cease to do wrong, learn to do good. Seek justice, restrain violence, defend the right of the orphan, champion the cause of the widow (Isaiah 1:10-17).

Christianity shared with the Greek mystery cults the romantic attitude "which seeks escape from life into living experience and turns the attention towards a phantastic and marvelous beyond" [Baeck, *Judaism and Christianity*, 197]. Rather than the prophetic emphasis upon "doing justice and loving mercy" and finding God in one's fellow man, the

emphasis in these movements was to relate man to the transcendent; make him one with God and thereby redeem him from sin. Ritual was central and individual rather than social salvation the concern. The new Christian religion built upon the substance of the Hellenistic mystery cults and substituted a Christ-centered faith for the theo-centric faith, the faith in the One of Judaism. A vertical relationship between this world and "the world to come" after the manner of Alexandrian Greek philosophy took the place of the prophetic trust in the "days to come," the Hebrew horizontal view of history. Rather than working for the establishment of God's kingdom on earth, these romantic souls began looking for "the son of man coming in the clouds of heaven" [Matthew 24:30].

The contribution of the Greek mystery cults to the substance of Christianity can be recognized easily by a description of what these cults shared in common. "They all spoke of a savior, a redeemer, of a Lord, a godhead that had died young and was raised from death, and who by his death and resurrection had subdued death itself, and now bestowed the real life, the lasting days on those who believed in him and became united with him by means of sacraments: the baptism, the unctions, the consecrated substances. There were only two articles of faith common to all these doctrines: sacrament and resurrection, the former the indispensable 'way'; the latter the fulfillment."

There is a very obvious difference in emphasis between the Greek-Christian concept of "the other" thought of in a transcendent realm and the Hebrew concern with "the other" which required doing justice in the social order. In the Greek-Christian world-view, the world became the possession of the evil powers, and holiness (communion with God) must be found by escaping the world through drugged

ecstasy (Dionysius) or through meditation (Orpheus). The Orphic cultus was later "baptized" and reborn as Christian monasticism and the Dionysian element was subdued into the sacrament of Communion, and provides an interesting backdrop for understanding our present day drug cult religions. Union with a transcendent God through meditation developed into a concern with "right" thinking and then salvation by "proper" belief. Faith became an assent to dogmatic propositions which justified man in spite of his actions. Thus, in Christianity, freedom from the law through mystical union with the redeeming savior gave a way out from the condemnations of the prophets of Israel. This romantic religion lacked at its very core any strong ethical impulse. The wrestling for truth and social justice gave way to the desire for ecstasy and enraptured shuddering. A tension between the desire for pious feeling and the demand for an ethical imperative which we feel in our congregation existed way back in those early days.

The victory of the romantic prophets over the Biblical prophets was eventually achieved and represented by Paul, "the first Christian." Paul came of a Jewish household situated in the midst of a Greek-influenced culture. From his monotheistic Judaism he offered the pagan cults the one God who reigns supreme over all. From them he learned of the dying and rising savior and the sacramental union. Paul achieved a union of Jewish and romantic (Greek) elements and from this established a new religion of mystery, sacrament, and myth which was to become Christianity. The faith of the Hebrew prophets in the goodness of life and the fulfillment of Covenant obligations by man's works and faithfulness to the law is changed by Paul to faith in a salvation already achieved and unearned. Man was no longer the co-creator with his God but became no more in this early

pietism than the object of a transcendent God's activity. Man no longer found his God through struggle, search, and inquiry, but through miraculous grace worked in him. Rather than looking for God in thought and action, man, in Luther's image, waited for salvation and faith "as one paralyzed."

In the prophetic faith man is considered a dynamic creature who is to become free through his acting in the world. This view rides hard on the supine dependence of romantic religion which speaks of waiting for salvation in a paralyzed state, a state of quietism, as opposed to the prophetic demand for self-affirmation and self-development. The demand of the prophets, from Isaiah to Father Groppi, for man to achieve salvation through social acts places this salvation as a very real goal in our everyday lives and this is very different than the romantic assurance that salvation has been somewhere achieved and man has become somehow free and, therefore, he must look backward constantly to the climax in the past which freed him or to some abstract ideology or to some government or to something else somewhere other than in his everyday living with his fellow man. Rather than being the actor as prophetic faith sees him, the pious romantic is one who is acted upon and saved through no effort of his own. He is the object of an overwhelming force which is subjectively experienced and hence unrelated to the reality of other men. Rabbi Leo Baeck points out that this experience is considered to be "the essence, the whole and the innermost content of our existence. Romanticism takes particularly the initial instant of reception, the power of that moment, for the quintessence and fulfillment of all humanity. Romantic magic becomes romantic truth" [Baeck, *Judaism and Christianity*, 208].

It is typically romantic when a religion states that the most

important of all events in the history of man was terminated with a particular occurrence. The relationship of this concept to the Greek myths is evident upon only a moment's thought. Religion for the romantic pietist becomes a relation to a story, a relationship characterized by a mood of faith which simply feels itself and considers itself complete.

The prophetic faith finds this type of evasion of life in the name of religion detestable because it is at bottom a desire for enjoyment which ignores the needs and demands of men. It is a mystical evasion of the whole sphere of existence with which the social conscience is concerned. In the view of the Hebrew prophets, it is a denial of God. These views which are central to pious, romantic religion are the very ones against which the Biblical prophets warned and threatened. In Rabbi Baeck's words, "One can have a strong faith and pious experiences without being disturbed by slavery, torture, and public horrors. The feeling of absolute dependence which is sensitive to sacred music is not disturbed by any of this" [Baeck, *Judaism and Christianity*, 214]. The prophets, ancient and modern, have the same judgment upon modern pietism as they had upon the life-evading efforts of the religion of an earlier day.

Unitarianism in Salt Lake City must be a Prophetic Faith; the times are too perilous to permit the "cop out" of life-denying pious romance.

Ronald E. Clark

'Unitarian Christianity': An Analysis of William Ellery Channing's Baltimore Sermon, 1819

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IN THE HISTORY of Unitarianism three sermons stand out as clear statements of what many of us believe to be the basics of the Unitarian Universalist movement today. They are William Ellery Channing's "Unitarian Christianity" given in Baltimore in 1819; Ralph Waldo Emerson's "The Divinity School Address" given at Harvard in 1838; and Theodore Parker's "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity" given in South Boston in 1841. I think it is a very good idea to examine what these men have said, since we need to ask ourselves what the basic ideas of Unitarian Universalists are.

For the last few years there have been passionate arguments between the action-oriented and the mystical. Both groups often claim only their approach is the proper [one]. Freedom versus authority, reason versus emotion, individual social action versus collective social action, the history of the Unitarian Universalist movement appears to be the history of a bipolar battle. Some have even pointed out that both Unitarians and vampires came from Transylvania. And they are afraid that situation isn't bipolar. But there is one theme which has carried through all the major "documents" of our Unitarian Universalist history. That theme is tolerance. Yet — and this must be recognized — this tolerance has shown up at some peculiar times — at some distressing times and almost always at very appropriate times. Still, this tolerance

has appeared so often only because the disagreements have been ever present in the Unitarian Universalist movement. And, of course, our denomination started because of disagreement.

Background

Channing's sermon "Unitarian Christianity" was delivered as the deliberate explanation of the theological position of a group of Congregational ministers who were being forced into a cohesive group. Circumstances were forcing this group of ministers to part from their Congregational brethren because of a clash between the liberal and conservative views of God, Jesus, and the Bible. Although the liberals did not want to start a new sect, the conservatives were isolating them.

For example, the orthodox ministers began to refuse to exchange pulpits, refuting a time-honored system, in an era where (since ministers settled for life) this was the basic way of bringing opposing views into the parishes. As Conrad Wright puts it: "By 1819 . . . the liberals were forced to acknowledge that the situation had to be accepted for what it was, and that, like it or not, they were becoming a distinct religious body." The First Independent Church of Baltimore had its cornerstone laid in June 1817. In the fall of 1818 Jared Sparks was candidating. In February 1819 he was hired and he went to Boston to arrange for his ordination and installation ceremony. Together a group of liberal ministers decided that this was the time to formally state their position. The congregation of the Independent Church had built it as a place for liberals and the symbolic beginning of a new congregation, a new minister, and a new movement was too good to miss. Traveling 400 miles from Boston the group of liberals who would soon (1825) form the American

Unitarian Association came to lend dignity and force to that statement.

The Sermon

"There are two natural divisions under which my thoughts will be arranged," Channing began. "I shall endeavor to unfold, first, the principles which we adopt in interpreting the Scriptures. And secondly, some of the doctrines, which the Scriptures, so interpreted, seem to us clearly to express." (At this point it is important to understand that Channing is using the Bible because he *believed* in it.) "We regard the Scriptures as the records of God's successive revelations to mankind. . . . Whatever doctrines seem to us to be clearly taught in the Scriptures, we receive without reserve or exception." Channing went on to say that the New Testament was more important than the Old which "we consider as adapted to the childhood of the the human race."

But how do you understand the Bible? "We are particularly accused of making an unwarrantable use of reason in the interpretation of Scripture." So how did they interpret the Bible? "Our leading principle in interpreting Scripture is this, that the Bible is a book written for men, in the language of men and that its meaning is to be sought in the same manner as that of other books." What does that imply? "Human language, you well know, admits various interpretations; and every word and every sentence must be modified and explained according to the purposes, feelings, circumstances, and principles of the writer, and according to the genius and idioms of the language which he uses." And so we must interpret the Bible with all those facts in mind. Also, if ideas are to be proved by verses, all verses which relate to the idea must be collected and examined, not merely one isolated comment.

In addition to going to the Bible for truths, Channing pointed out that there are other sources of information about topics treated by the Bible and those sources must be examined and the conclusions must include ALL the data. The knowledge becoming available about Biblical circumstances and historical situations must be used. "The Holy Spirit did not so guide the Apostles as to suspend the peculiarities of their minds. . . ." Channing then lists a few of the impossibilities which are hinted at in the Bible, and which clear up only at the application of reason. But Channing also stresses the belief of his group in the revelation of God and the problem forcing the separation was not belief in God or even the Bible as the inspired word of God. The problem was merely how to interpret what one reads in the Bible. The liberal ministers, Channing states, "believe that God never contradicts, in one part of Scripture, what he teaches in another; and never contradicts, in revelation, what he teaches in his works and providence."

The question is then, what does the Bible teach as interpreted by the procedures discussed by Channing? The second part of his sermon discusses that.

1 — One God

"In the first place, we believe . . . that there is one God and one only." Channing gives many reasons for this belief, but one of the important ones is: "So entirely do the Scriptures abstain from stating the Trinity that when our opponents would insert it into their creeds and doxologies, they are compelled to leave the Bible, and to invent forms of words altogether unsanctioned by Scriptural phraseology." (Should I say here that old Channing was a fundamentalist of the worst sort — he read his Bible?)

2 — One Jesus (no holy ghost)

"Having thus given our views of the unity of God, I proceed in the second place to observe, that we believe in the unity of Jesus Christ." Thus the idea that Jesus is made up of two minds, one human and one divine, etc., is the doctrine that Channing once again fails to find in the Bible. Channing's discussion of Jesus here is very complex since he deals with many ideas about Jesus and I am not going to take the time to go into them all here because of the rest of the main points Channing makes which I want to have time to cover. It is not clear to me, for example, if Channing believes Jesus to be the son of God, although it is clear that Channing does not accept him as a God. He does dip into the problem of which Jesus died on the cross, the God (God normally being thought of as undying) so that the sacrifice of the God was an infinite one to atone for an infinite sin, or was it the human Jesus (who could die) who was not infinite and thus didn't make a very good sacrifice. Channing finds the whole area of ideas confusing and unscriptural.

3 — God is Morally Perfect

"It is not because his will is irresistible, but because his will is the perfection of virtue, that we pay him allegiance." The concepts of God advanced by the orthodox are repugnant for several reasons. Orthodoxy teaches various things, but "according to its old and genuine form, it teaches, that God brings us into life wholly depraved, so that under the innocent features of our childhood is hidden a nature adverse to all good and propense to all evil, a nature which exposes us to God's displeasure and wrath, even before we have acquired power to understand our duties, or to reflect upon

our actions." Channing's main objection to that is simply if it were true that such a natural constitution of the mind immediately absolves it from all guilt. Thus, no man is a sinner if he can't be otherwise. Channing rejects the Calvinist doctrine that only some are to be saved. Channing also hints at the hypocrisy of a religion that bugs the ones who can't be saved since there is absolutely nothing that can be done.

4 — Jesus' Mission

Channing now turns to the reason for Jesus. He was sent as a model, to show us what virtues are and how we should live in accordance with the will of God. The deliverance Jesus effects is that of a spiritual one. He shows us the way to become spiritually pure. Channing admits that the group of liberals he represents differs on the interpretation of the death of Christ, but "the idea, which is conveyed to common minds by the popular system, that Christ's death was an influence in making God placable, or merciful, in awakening his kindness towards men, we reject with strong disapprobation. . . . It naturally leads men to think, that Christ came to change God's mind rather than their own. . . ." How then do the Unitarian Christians view him? "We regard him as a Savior, chiefly as he is the light, physician, and guide of the dark, diseased, and wandering mind."

5 — Christian Virtue

In the final portion of his sermon Channing discusses the nature of man and the virtues a Christian man should have. The important point which we still find in the foundation of modern Unitarian Universalism, Channing states. "We believe that all virtue has its foundation in the moral nature of man, that is, in conscience, or his sense of duty and in the power of forming his temper and life according to conscience." Thus, instead of the utter depravity of man,

man's nature has the potential of going either way — morally or immorally.

The moral direction includes love of God, love of Jesus, and the many other virtues we could list for ourselves, and Channing concludes with these remarks: "But there is one branch of benevolence which I ought not to pass over in silence, because we think that we conceive of it more highly and justly than many of our brethren. I refer to the duty of candor, charitable judgment, especially towards those who differ in religious opinion." Channing singled this out for special mention because he was familiar with the history of all men. He knew, as each one of us knows, from personal experience that the greatest problem in religion for mankind is the man who "knows" he has the "truth" and who somehow has obtained the power to force men to bow to that "truth."

The desire of those early Unitarians to promote tolerance was doomed to failure. We Unitarian Universalists are no different from others when the issue becomes an important one. In Channing's time the issues related to Christian doctrine. Later they related to social action and to philosophical doctrine. Currently in our movement they relate to social action, drugs, long hair, hymns versus recorded music (meaning the "proper way" to worship), and each of you could make your own list. Nothing is so dangerous in the search for truth as the man who has found it and settles upon it like a chicken warming an egg. One point to remember is that Channing was not some wild-eyed radical. He was a graduate of Harvard and later a Regent there before he entered the parish ministry. His ideas were well thought out and he was 39 years old when he delivered this sermon.

In a month I'll discuss Emerson and his Divinity School

address. Emerson's approach to religious proof was almost directly opposite to Channing. And bless his heart he forced the Unitarians to abide by their previous endorsement of tolerance: or should I say he thoroughly raised the problem so that it no longer became academic?

Richard Henry

Can Religion and Science Coexist

23 November 1980

THE REASON for framing the topic of this morning the way I do is traceable to the fact that there is a growing conviction among contemporary Christian fundamentalists that both science and religion are in some way fundamentally antithetical to each other in purpose and in spirit, and it is the duty, therefore, of what they regard as "true religion" to discount and, where possible, to discredit the world view science promulgates, and to substitute for that world view the conception of the world and our place in it that is found in the book of Genesis — this "in the Year of our Lord 1980"!

The strength of the conviction of these new fundamentalists was impressed upon me recently when I asked a college professor whether he and his family were watching Carl Sagan's *Cosmos* series on television and his immediate reply was "No, we are not. That program, you know, teaches evolution." That same mistrust of science is evident across the country. Pressure is being put on school boards and school administrations to present the Old Testament story of creation found in Genesis as of equal value to the theory of evolution because the latter, as these opponents say, is "only a theory." So why not give the Biblical explanation of the beginnings of things equal shrift with the theory of evolution?

There is, you think, a curiously reminiscent ring to this debate. You scratch your head a little and remember this was the subject which Clarence Darrow and William Jennings

Bryan were debating some 50 years ago over the right of a young teacher to teach the evolutionary theory in a Tennessee high school. "Hm," you say to yourself. You thought that issue had been settled back there in the Scopes trial — Dayton, Tennessee, 1925. But no, this is another one of those issues which keeps coming up for resolution generation after generation. This time around, though, there is a curious twist which lends ironic credibility to the request of the defenders of the "creationist" theory for equality with the evolutionary theory. As you will recall, in the Scopes trial the fundamentalists stood as recalcitrant and relentless opponents of intellectual freedom. Today these new advocates for the teaching of that same theory appear as defenders of intellectual freedom. Their opponents are not only on the defensive, they are accused of being opposed to intellectual freedom for wanting to deny the creationist theory equal shrift, equal credibility with the theory of evolution.

At issue in this contest, I think, is what is conceived as the incompatibility of the two realms of meaning — the one revealed by religion, the other by science. Both realms have something to say about the nature of the universe and about our place in it. Both science and religion have something to say about the method by which truth is discovered. Both have theories about the nature of human nature. But the conception of human nature entertained by science is a different conception of human nature from that entertained by religion. It seems clear that the mood and the method of science as well as the evidence it accepts (which results in certain conclusions about the nature of the universe, of human nature and human destiny) are threatening to the fundamentalists. Trust for them is founded not on hypothesis or on empirical evidence. It is founded on faith or on sacred authority. From their

earliest childhood little ones have sung together, "Jesus loves me, this I know, for the Bible tells me so." That book is consulted as the final authority on how the world began, on the true nature and destiny of man and woman, and — which seems to be of particular importance to them — on our special creation and our consequent superiority over the rest of the animal kingdom — (this latter an attitude expressed by the woman who, on hearing Clarence Darrow's arguments concerning evolution at the Scopes trial, commented, "We, descended from monkeys? Well, if it really is so, let's hope it doesn't become generally known.") The evolutionary theory may seem so threatening because if we are just another link in a chain of development that goes back to the beginnings of mammalian life on this planet, then there is really no guarantee for the continuation of our species on this planet. An even more sobering thought is that our survival probably depends on our capacity to make wise choices among very complicated and sometimes threatening alternatives. And there's little in the new fundamentalists' view of human nature that would justify any faith in our capacity to make such decisions.

Religious humanists, on the other hand (for which you can usually read "most Unitarian Universalists"), take a rather different view about the question whether religion and science can coexist. These people are inclined to regard the mood, the method, the evidence and the findings of science with sympathy rather than with suspicion or with hostility, which somehow have to be incorporated into our views about our own selves and our place in the universe lest we engineer our own destruction.

Not that there aren't some quite negative consequences visited upon our species as a result of some scientific discoveries: one thinks, for example, of the application of

scientific knowledge to the solution of technological problems. One considers the effects of automation, which in some industries has led to vast unemployment, and asks oneself what happens to the sense of self-worth (especially in a society where self-worth is defined largely in terms of what one can produce) when that capacity is withdrawn? Or one thinks of the effects science has had in eroding the authority and the integrity of the American family by reducing the amount of time families spend together. What is the significance, for example, that the average American family spends a half-hour less together at mealtime than does the average European family? Is this a consequence of technology's inroads upon family life and is it worth the price? What are the implications for the future strength of our culture, of the diminishment of family values and family norms through the vastly increasing influence of schools and social clubs on the roles families have traditionally exercised? Or the effect of the bombardment of our living rooms and consequent knowledge of the problems of peoples around the world have even before they get to first grade in elementary school as a consequence of their exposure to television?

Yes, there is no question there are some aspects of science that threaten values that are held very dear by religious humanists as well as by religious fundamentalists.

But for the most part the spirit of religious humanism is entirely at home with and pledged to accept most of the working methods and principles of contemporary science rather than to war with those methods and those principles. One of those principles is the willingness to apply empirical reason to what is assumed to be true — our own truths particularly.

defend his conviction that human nature is fundamentally trustworthy. He will do so by holding the record of human charitableness and human compassion side by side with that of man's brutality and inhumanity to man, letting the observer be the judge of his religious conviction.

There is a similarly open attitude among humanists toward the new and the unexpected, of going out and welcoming what John Dewey once called "the beauties and troubles of experience" from which we tend most to learn and go on growing.

Many of you are familiar with the little book, *Science and Human Values* by Jacob Bronowski. In it Bronowski named three attitudes he considered essential ingredients of science: independence, originality and dissent. All three of those traits are very precious to the faith of religious humanists who would argue not only for the possibility of the coexistence of science and religion but also for their most intimate collaboration. Like the scientist, the religious humanist puts a high valuation on independent mindedness. Your faith must not be something handed you by some superior authority or accepted uncritically like someone else's old coat. It has to be grown out of your own soul. It has to be fired in the furnace of your own thought. Originality, says Bronowski, is a mark of independence and that, religious humanists believe, applies in religion quite as much as it does in science.

As e e cummings says, nobody else can be alive for you, nor can you be alive for anybody else; but you can be alive to and for yourself. That's both your privilege and your responsibility as an independent, autonomous, religious human being. Independence, originality "and therefore dissent," says Bronowski, are hallmarks of science. They are also, for the religious humanists, prerequisite to the formation of one's own religious faith. And if I quote Mr. Bronowski's

description of the scientist, it is because of a conviction that where he says "scientist" you and I might substitute "religious humanist" or "Unitarian Universalist" and the meaning will be practically the same.

Independence, originality, and therefore dissent. These words show the progress (says Bronowski), they stamp the character of our civilization as once they did [that] of Athens in flower. From Luther in 1517 to Spinoza grinding lenses, from Huguenot weavers and Quaker ironmasters to Puritans founding Harvard, and from Newton's heresies to the calculated universe of Eddington, the profound movements of history have been begun by unconforming men. (We would add "and women"!) Dissent is the native activity of the scientist [and of Unitarian Universalists, and of religious humanists], and it has gotten [him] into a good deal of trouble in the last years. But if that is cut off, what's left will not be a scientist. I doubt whether it will be a man or a person. For dissent is also native in any society which is still growing. Has there ever been a society which has died of dissent? Several have died of conformity in our time [cf. Jacob Bronowski, *Science and Human Values* (New York: Julien Messner, Inc., 1956), 78-79].

Independence, originality and dissent, it's clear, are not qualities whose exercise is designed to provide either comfort or security. But for religious humanists neither comfort nor security is the legitimate goal of one's religious faith. To such a person what really matters is that he or she be a candidate for truth wherever it is to be found. And it is because we find no danger and no harm in embracing the truth we see that religious humanists find no essential conflict between religion and science. This is a fundamental watershed in the thought and in the practice of religion in our time. We make no apology for the allegiance we choose.

Thomas R. Goldsmith

In the Company of Seekers

4 December 1988

JUST RECENTLY I heard a story which is purportedly true, although I dare say I feel it might be a tad apocryphal. It takes place in Montana, a region even more remote to Unitarianism than Utah. An elderly Unitarian man passed away one day, and his widow didn't quite know how to handle the funeral since there was no Unitarian minister for literally hundreds of miles. So she went to a Methodist church nearest her home, and asked the Methodist minister if she would bury her husband. Of course the Methodist minister agreed, but then became a bit cautious, because Methodists do have their strict rules. So to make sure, she called her bishop for permission to do the funeral for the Unitarian. The bishop wasn't in, but she left a message asking for permission to bury the Unitarian. The next day, a telegram arrived from their bishop which read: "Bury as many Unitarians as you can."

We haven't exactly been a real popular kind of religion. And there's always been some confusion about who we really are and what we practice. Even in Boston not everybody's got it straight — like the tour guide who passed by our headquarters on 25 Beacon Street and said: "On our left, we have the headquarters of the Unitarian Unification Church."

We have incurred the ire of one of the great theologians of this century, Richard Niebuhr. In his seminal work entitled *The Kingdom of God in America* he scorns the Unitarian

belief system with the following thumbnail sketch of our wimpy theology: "God without wrath brought man without sin into a kingdom without judgment through the ministrations of a Christ without a cross." (That sounds real good to me.) Obviously he meant it as a putdown of liberal religion.

What really emerges so clearly here is the overriding assumption that — to be religious — you have to accept all that baggage of sin and judgment and guilt, and then follow certain prescriptions to receive the religious unction called redemption.

So Unitarianism stands squarely outside of the conventional understanding of religion. Thus we become difficult to be comprehended, even by some of the great minds. Henry James, for example, proved hopelessly perplexed by Unitarians, referring to them as "feeble sentimentalists" who did not belong to a religion but to a kind of "cultural substitute for religion." Ann Douglas in her assessment of American culture wrote that Unitarians and Episcopalians were the most highly educated of the Protestant sects, and earned the highest incomes. Prestige, however, belonged to the Episcopalians. It seems we lack religion, we lack prestige, and we certainly lack numbers. Unitarian Universalists have opted for a religious approach radically different from Mainstream America. The very idea of a "free church" strikes most people as a contradiction in terms. A church with no theological dogma, no intellectual constraints, no parameters on religious expression, makes it difficult for many to understand what it is that makes us a religious lot, not just a group of sentimentalists who might offer this as a substitute for religion.

The ambiguities of liberal religion are legitimately challenged by those who adhere more closely to religious creed.

They might argue, "What's so great about being free, if you have no idea in what direction you want to go, or if in fact you have no sense of direction at all?" This criticism of liberal religion is borne out by a piece published in London [in] the early part of this century by the Catholic Truth Society. It tells the story of a man who left the Anglican church to become a Unitarian minister, with great enthusiasm for the *freedom* this would give him. Eventually, however, he became a Catholic priest. He is quoted as saying: "I have been wandering without a star or pilot, and my head is weary, and my heart is filled with indefinable gloom." To escape this burden he sought the support of a belief system that could give him (1) direction, [and] (2) assurance. You don't get those in a free church.

I will never forget the time back in Massachusetts when I visited an elderly parishioner in the Intensive Care Unit of the local hospital. I visit a lot of people in hospitals, but she threw me a curve ball when suddenly she asked me: "Tom, will you pray for me?" Well, I tried to put something together in a hurry, and thought I rose to the challenge in good form. But after the prayer, a priest passed by and he said: "Excuse me, father, but will you pray for me?"

Direction and assurance: two potent calling cards of traditional religion. Perhaps the real question I'm raising this morning, a question that many of you undoubtedly have mulled over from time to time, is whether or not a religious journey without destination or guarantee can satisfy the spiritual hunger for awareness and meaning and proportion in how we ought to live. I crave direction and assurance as much as anybody else. Intellectually, however, I recoil at the thought of religion's tidy little formulas for achieving those aims. In our UU [Unitarian Universalist] Orientation classes here, we examine the Apostle's Creed: I believe in God the

Father and in Christ Jesus, His only son, our Lord who was born of the Holy Spirit and the Virgin Mary etc. etc., who sitteth on the right hand of the Father, and so on. It includes stuff about judgment and life everlasting. I'm fascinated by the reaction of people, many of whom had to recite those words every Sunday for years and years. Finally, it just lost its impact.

The Big Questions — from whence we came, why we are here, and whither we go — can't be spelled out in ironclad terms. It would be nice if we could reduce the gut-wrenching existential dilemmas into compact creeds and ideologies with steadfast assurance. But our lives have been tempered by the slings of randomness and senselessness, and soon dogmatic assumptions of certainty ring hollow. Thus, those who choose to leave orthodoxy behind are not less religious, but regard their journey more as an open adventure. That's a legitimate religious option. Rather than rely on infallible guidance offered by orthodoxy, the liberal allows her or his religious paths to embrace the exhilaration of fresh discovery and new insight, the potential for change and growth, and liberation from ancient dogmas insisting that we all conform to a theological like-mindedness.

Our most prominent Unitarian theologian today, James Luther Adams, wrote that orthodoxy insists that the mortal sin of the liberal is the unwillingness to submit to divine authority and that this unwillingness grows out of intellectual pride. What the orthodox overlooks, however, is this: the most pretentious pride of all is that of the man who thinks himself capable of recognizing infallibility.

It seems to me that religion has been poured into a mold offering direction and assurance, and anything outside that mold fails to live up to what it means to be religious. A fresh perspective on this religion business was offered by

Henry Nelson Wieman, a Unitarian from the 40's. He made the bold assertion that religion raises ridiculous questions. If you ask: Is there a God? Is God a Supreme Being? Is there life after death? Only one kind of answer can satisfy all those questions — namely, Nobody knows! Instead, wouldn't it be a real kick if religion asked questions that religion could answer, questions like "What can transform human beings?" Inherent in this question lies the liberal religious assumption of our moral obligation to the establishment of a just and loving world. Contrary to traditional ideas that life's meaning is expressed in devotion to ritual and creed, our task is to transform a world of cruelty and indifference to a just and compassionate and peaceful community. Implicit is a courageous faith that the future of the world is on our hands, not those of an angry God. Implicit is the belief that we will not be mystically delivered from evil, but that we own the burden of purging the evils of injustice ourselves.

I believe that most of us would agree with Henry Nelson Wieman, that we have in a sense been bamboozled into limited understanding of the religious because religion keeps posing unanswerable questions. We reject the notion that meaning (life's meaning and the cosmic puzzle) has been captured once and for all, and that it is up to us to memorize it and strictly adhere to its precepts. We reject the notion that by following certain churchly procedures we will then find the assurance of God's existence and ultimately will secure for ourselves a comfortable resting place for all eternity. It's not that neatly packaged. Unraveling the secrets of the cosmos can't be done in the 150 words of the Apostle's Creed — or any creed. Meaning has not been captured, written down in ancient tomes. Revelation is continuous — as continuous and changing as the very unfolding of life itself. Nothing is complete; there are no definitive answers written

on tablet or scroll which seal the truth for all posterity. Perhaps Wallace Stevens had it right when he said that "truth depends upon a walk around the lake."

I was jolted last week when I went to speak to the South Valley Unitarian Society, which meets in St. James Episcopal Church. St. James has a large sign on their bulletin board which reads: "If you really love Jesus, then Tithe. Any fool can honk." Clearly there is not much concern here for transformation, just preferable expressions of piety. I make no judgment—I only wish to clarify that the notion of religion varies considerably, and more importantly, the call to holiness cannot mean the same for all people. The search for what is sacred is bound to pull people into different directions. The "free church" prompts many from other traditions to question our religious character and credibility. Yet the free church merely affirms that the search for what is holy need not be contingent upon doctrinal statements. How can the limitless sense of holiness be confined to ancient dogma?

Wendell Berry reminds us that we are the belongings of the world, and not its owners. And Unitarians share in the reverence of existence, its mysteries, and its holiness. Nobody has a corner on how to harness the holy. It's all pervasive and mystifying and cannot be captured through particular religious rituals or habits. We search for just a glimmer of holiness which might break through upon us in our trying and busy and taxing and stressful and ordinary lives.

About fifty years ago, Frederick May Eliot, president of the American Unitarian Association, summed up the puzzle of what Unitarians really are all about with these words: "A company of seekers, bounded closely together in their common confession that what they seek is still beyond them."

I accept that definition still today. We are a company of seekers, muddling through a difficult and painful world with no clear destination or assurances. But that does not mean we stand separate from what is sacred or holy. We are aware of a sense of holiness, that which lies beyond us, but the question remains; there is no easy way to harness it. There are many religious paths. For some the spiritual life is tied inextricably to a more methodological or ritualistic process. For religious liberals, holiness is more spontaneous — a sudden insight — a quick burst of light in the dark search of meaning.

We are a company of seekers, extremely inarticulate in defining that which we seek. But we believe that ambiguity in these matters does not diminish the spiritual journey but makes the pilgrimage more alive with infinite possibilities. We are a company of seekers who regard religion as a means rather than an end, as a tool and not the answer. Religion must bring the big life-issues into focus, not provide kindly and nurturing solutions. We are a company of seekers who bring to our religion an inquisitive mind, a restless soul, a social conscience, and I certainly hope — a sense of humor. These are the elements we cling to tenaciously in a free church. We offer no direction or assurance, but carry a strong faith in human life. We believe that all people on earth have an equal claim to a life filled with integrity; all people have an equal claim to justice and freedom.

When we are forced to be accountable to those unanswerable questions raised by traditional religion — God, immortality, etc. — we come across as ambiguous at best. But that doesn't really seem to bother Unitarians as much as it seems to bother the rest of the world.

Welcome new members —

Welcome old members —

As we all come together here in the company of seekers.

Appendix A

Ministers, 1891–1991

The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City

Rev. David N. Utter, February 1891 to October 1894
Rev. Stanley M. Hunter, November 1894 to June 1895
Rev. Adelbert L. Hudson, September 1895 to December 1897
Rev. Rezin A. Maynard, December 1897 to September 1899
Rev. Mila T. Maynard, December 1897 to September 1899
Rev. Philip S. Thacher, May 1901 to December 1902
Rev. William H. Fish, Jr., January 1903 to November 1904
Rev. Franklin F. Eddy, January 1905 to August 1907
Rev. William Thurston Brown, September 1907 to June 1910
Rev. Fred M. Bennett, September 1912 to June 1913
Rev. John Malick, September 1913 to June 1918
Rev. Martin F. Fereshetian, November 1919 to June 1920
Rev. Herbert E. Kellington, January 1921 to November 1923
Rev. Frank L. Hunt, November 1923 to March 1930
Dr. Jacob Trapp, August 1930 to September 1941
Dr. J. Raymond Cope, February 1942 to April 1946
Dr. Edwin H. Wilson, August 1946 to July 1949
Rev. Alfred P. Stiernotte, assistant minister, January 1947 to
July 1948
Dr. Harold Scott, February 1950 to June 1960
Rev. Hugh W. Gillilan, July to December 1961

The First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City

Rev. Hugh W. Gillilan, January 1962 to August 1969
Richard Harris, intern minister, September 1965 to
August 1966

Unitarianism in Utah

Dr. Michael F. Cunningham, August 1969 to August 1970

Rev. Ronald E. Clark, February 1971 to February 1976

Dr. Richard Henry, October 1977 to August 1986

Thomas Yondorf, intern minister, August 1984 to
March 1985

Rev. Thomas R. Goldsmith, September 1987 to the present

Appendix B

Charter Members

24 February 1891

Emily M. Almy	Anne Maddison
Mary E. Almy	Emma K. Mason
Walter Almy	Hezekiah P. Mason
Willis M. Ames	A. H. Maude
Wendell Benson	William I. Maude
Frederick W. Blohm	William J. Miles
Nat M. Brigham	Edward M. Onion
Arthur E. Clarke	S. Elizabeth Onion
Mans H. Coffin	Emma Pischel
Mrs. Mans H. Coffin	Alexander L. Pollock
Dr. Charles I. Douglas	A. Theodore Schroeder
Ernest M. Fowler	Mary P. Schroeder
Emma Heaps	Annie Louise Silva
W. T. Heaps	Valentine M. C. Silva
Addie A. Henderson	A. Rolla Tibbits
Chester S. Henderson	Dr. George W. Tibbits
Oliver A. Jennings	Leonora Trent
Henry W. Lawrence	M. Delorme Trent
Jennette S. Lawrence	Simeon V. Trent
Kate K. Lawrence	Katharine Waltenspiel
George Low	E. James Williams
Mrs. George Low	Grace L. Williams
Frederick Lyon	Eleanor C. Young

Appendix C

Presidents of the Board of Trustees, 1891–1991

The First Unitarian Society of Salt Lake City

Nat M. Brigham, 1891–97	C. Gordon Adams, 1936–38
Charles L. Baum, 1897–99	Halbert S. Kerr, 1939–40
Henry A. Whitney, 1901	Warner P. Jerrell, 1941
Jay F. Sturgis, 1902–1904	Irma W. Hance, 1942
John Zink, 1905–1906	T. David Hettig, 1943–44
George H. Raybould, 1907	S. Frederick Ravitz, 1945–46
Henry W. Lawrence (?), 1908	Clarence E. Baker, 1947
Daniel N. Straup, 1909–16	James L. Jarrett, 1948
Frederick C. Loofbourow, 1917–24	Layton E. Baldwin, 1949
Vivian P. Strange, 1925	Sidney E. Gilchrist, 1950–51
James H. Wolfe, 1926	Alonzo Ormsby, 1952–1953
Roy T. Porte, 1927	William J. Luttrell, 1954
Albin F. Palm, 1928	Antoinette L. Fowler, 1955
Warner P. Jerrell, 1929	Warner P. Jerrell, 1956
Carl A. Wolfrom, 1930	Carroll A. Whitmer, 1957
Lulu H. Kipp, 1931–32	Edgar F. Kleiner, 1958
Carl A. Wolfrom, 1932	Don Williams, 1959
H. Earl Havenor, 1933–34	Carl E. Link, 1960–61
Vivian P. Strange, 1935	

The First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City

Gilbert Howard, 1962	Hal Osborn, 1966–67
Alan E. Fjeld, 1963	Florien Wineriter, 1968–69
Leland B. Gillette, 1964	Justin Stewart, 1970
Richard Nelson, 1965	

Appendix C: Board of Trustees

Florien Wineriter, 1971
Sandra Tapanen, 1972
David Fisher, 1973
Gordon Sampson, 1974
Richard Aaron, 1975
Chris Sampson, 1976
Denna Wright, 1977
Dorene Gogins, 1978
Jim Holbrook, 1979
Bob Wright, 1980

A. Robert Thurman, 1981
John S. Backels, 1982
Wanda Rice, 1983
Hal Bertilson, 1984
Ron Anderson, 1985
F. Alan Coombs, 1986
D. Gary Child, 1987
Joan Proctor, 1988
J. Rayce Tucker, 1989
Helen Hodgson, 1989-91

Appendix D

Presidents of the Women's Alliance, 1891-1991

Ladies Unitarian Society

Emily M. Almy, 1891-93	Rebecca P. Utter, 1894-95
Nora M. Jones, 1893-94	Martha B. Jennings, 1895-96

Unity Circle

Annie S. Silva, 1896-97	Laura L. Zink, 1903-1904
Ada L. Gray, 1897-99	Caddie D. Moulton, 1904-1905
Martha J. Watson, 1899	Fannie G. Eddy, 1905-1906
Estelle G. Cowan, 1901-1903	

Lloyd Alliance

Fannie G. Eddy, 1906-1907	Mary P. Raybould, 1912-14
Martha J. Watson, 1907-1908	Jennie Fowler, 1914-15
	Helena Hawley, 1915
Della L. Straup, 1908-1909	Nellie F. Seymour, 1915-17
Estelle G. Cowan, 1909-10	Lillie E. Clark, 1917-22
Della L. Straup, 1910-11	Bessie Tolhurst, 1922-23
Laura L. Zink, 1911	Della L. Straup, 1923-24
Helena Hawley, 1911-12	

The Salt Lake City Branch of the Alliance of Unitarian and Other Liberal Christian Women

Della L. Straup, 1924-25	Jesse W. Gross, 1926-27
Carolyn W. Wolfe, 1925-26	Harriet B. Billingsley, 1927-28

Lulu H. Kipp, 1928–30	Ethel M. Jordan, 1939–40
Miriam C. Brockbank, 1930–31	Jessie J. Greenhalgh, 1940–41
M. Antoinette L. Fowler, 1931–33	Rebecca W. Montague, 1941–42
Helen Y. Jerrell, 1933–34	Harriett M. Gilchrist, 1942–43
Pearl A. Jones, 1934–35	Alberta P. Curry, 1943
Margaret W. Havenor, 1935–36	Anna L. Nelson, 1943–44
Virginia H. Picht, 1936–37	Danella S. Cope, 1944–45
Alla N. Mulhall, 1937–38	Alice D. Williams, 1945–46
Millie K. Kerr, 1938–39	

Salt Lake City Branch of the General Alliance
of Unitarian Women

Carolyn W. Wolfe, 1946–47	Helen G. Kurumada, 1957–58
Irma W. Hance, 1947–48	Joan Riding, 1958, elected but did not serve
Allie W. Smith, 1948–49	Katherine W. Williams, vice president, 1958–59, served as president
Jennie B. Kennedy, 1949–50	Joyce N. Rose, 1959, elected but did not serve
Susan R. Keate, 1950–51	Ann M. Douglas, 1959–60
Cordelia S. Mays, 1951–52	Virginia Dove, 1960–61
Blanche Young, 1952–53	Frances B. Harris, 1961–62
Ella F. Black, 1953–54	Roberta R. Stewart, 1962–63
Kathryne D. Ormsby, 1954–56	Mary C. Fenton, 1963–64
Eleanor T. Stone, 1956–57	

Salt Lake Alliance of Unitarian Women

Evelyn J. Beam, 1964–66	Maude Gibbs, 1980–81
Mary Schultz, 1966–69	Muriel Zwick, 1981–82
Julie Stockdale, 1969–70	Dorothy Lindblom,
Mary Schultz, 1970–71	1982–83
Joan Johnson, 1971–72	Katherine Fjeldsted,
Dawn Horne, 1972–73	1983–84
Mary Schultz, 1973–74	Harriet Jo Nelson, 1984–85
Aileen Mills, 1974–75	Katherine Fjeldsted,
rotating president, 1975–76	1985–86
Denise de la Cruz, 1976–77	Harriet Jo Nelson, 1986–87
rotating president, 1977–78	Muriel Zwick, 1987–88
Evangeline Monroe,	Frederika Lustig, 1988–89
1978–79	Sylvia Anderson, 1989–90
Aileen Mills, 1979–80	Ineda Roe, 1990–91

Appendix E

Superintendents and Directors of Religious Education: 1891–1991

Superintendent

Chester W. Ames, 1891
George B. Greenwood,
1896

Committee

Helena Hawley,
Hulda Youngberg,
Alice Pierce,
May Alexander,
Nellie F. Seymour,
and Della Straup, 1914

Superintendent

Clara Cummins, 1918
M. Antoinette L. Fowler,
1921–25
H. Earl Havenor, 1925–33
Archibald D. Clarke,
1933–36
Mary B. Tracy, 1937–39
Verna Roberts, 1939–44
Andrew Johns, 1944–45
T. David Hettig, 1945–46

Director

Danella Straup Cope,
1946–47
Alfred Stiernotte, 1947–48
Beverly E. Hyde, 1949–51
Johanna D. Gunn, 1952–53
Gilbert Howard, 1953–54
Florien Wineriter, 1954–57
Barbara Picht Kleiner,
1958–64
Cynthia Adcox, 1964–65
Barbara Hood, 1966–67
Christine Carlson, 1967–68
Diane D. Hess, 1968–69
Shirley McSharry, 1969–71
Sharon Clark, 1971–74
Ginger Folsom, 1974–76
Denise de la Cruz, 1977
Rona Lewis, 1977–78
Sonja Chesley, 1978–80
Barabara Smith, 1980–84
Peter Talley, 1984–86
Randy Milligan, 1987–88
Mary Jo Rasmussen,
1988–89
Janet Teerlink, 1989–91

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an example of the preaching of each of these ministers, with the exception of Rev. Herbert Kellington.) In 1899 the society was effectively disbanded, due to "mistakes and mismanagement." Early in 1901 Rev. Philip S. Thacher was sent by the American Unitarian Association to reactivate the congregation. This was successfully accomplished, and yet the period through the end of World War One was one of declining membership. The present Unitarian Church sanctuary was constructed in 1927; with the arrival of Jacob Trapp as minister in 1930 a period of sustained growth and prosperity was ushered in, which has continued to the present day.

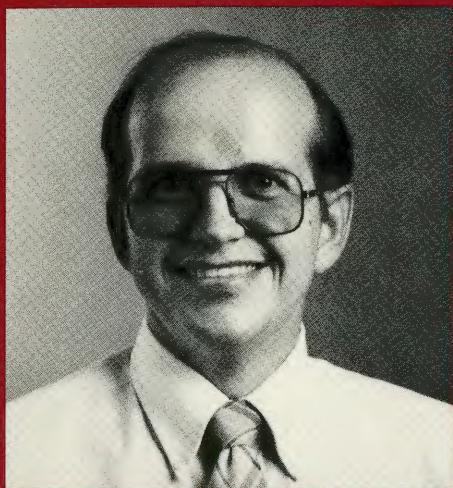
THIS IS by no means an apologetic work, and the First Unitarian Church of Salt Lake City had no control over the text of the history or the selection of the sermons. Controversial topics have not been side-stepped — some will be shocked by the scandals and others refreshed by the frankness. The authors have done their best to deal honestly with the available documents, and to resort to the minimum of interpretation.

RESOURCES FOR this centennial history are based on the one hundred-year records of the church, stored in the University of Utah Marriott Library, Manuscripts Division, Special Collections. Special thanks is due to all those living and dead who wrote and preserved the papers which occupy seventy-six feet (ms #508) of space there.

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